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THE POEMS OF HENRY HOWARD
EARL OF SURREY

FREDERICK MORGAN PADELFORD



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To

J. E. P.

Cum tot sustineas et tanta negotia sola

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PREFACE

It is now rather more than a century since George Frederick Nott published his elaborate edition of the works of Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey. Since then no scholarly edition has been attempted. During this time, however, many facts bearing upon the career of Surrey have come to light, a noteworthy biography has been published, studies dealing with various phases of the poetry have appeared, and manuscript versions of many of the lyrics and two fresh texts of the fourth book of the *Æneid* have been discovered. The time therefore seems ripe for a new edition that will take advantage of this fresh knowledge, giving more authoritative readings in the poems and furnishing the equipment needed by the scholar. The present volume aims to meet this need.

I have classified the poems by subject-matter rather than by metrical forms, thinking that this classification may furnish a more human approach. I trust that this arrangement, as well as the titles which I have supplied in place of the long traditional titles in Tottel's *Miscellany*, will meet with the reader's approval. For the convenience of those who wish to make a critical study of the translation of the *Æneid*, I have printed Tottel's version of the fourth book and a version based upon the text in Manuscript Hargrave 205, on opposite pages. The latter version departs from the manuscript readings only where there is strong presumptive evidence that the revisions restore the original. If these revisions have been based upon correct reasoning, this text should approximate Surrey's original version, and should be regarded as the authentic one. If I have erred in restoring the text, it has been on the side of conservatism. The early spellings have been consistently followed throughout, but the punctuation is modern.

Students of Surrey will appreciate how much the Introduction owes to Bapst's scholarly biography of the poet and how much the Critical Notes owe to the researches of former scholars, notably to Koeppel's examination of the Italian sources.

I acknowledge with much gratitude my indebtedness to Miss Gladys D. Willcock of the Royal Holloway College, a new scholar in the English field, who very kindly furnished me with the proof sheets of her collation of the variants in the 1554 edition of the fourth book of the *Æneid*, this expediting the completion of the notes. I would also express my obligations, both longstanding and recent, to John A. Herbert, Esquire, of the British Museum, who placed in my hands the principal manuscript of Surrey's lyrics just after its purchase by the Museum in 1905, and who has more recently secured for me rotographs of rare manuscripts and books. To the Harvard Library I am indebted for the loan of the works of Gawin Douglas. Finally, I wish to recognize the many helpful suggestions of my colleague, Professor Vernon L. Parrington, and to thank my secretary, Mrs. Lois J. Wentworth, for assistance in revising the proofs.

With this volume the University inaugurates a new series of publications, which we hope will contribute to the advancement of scholarship in the field of letters.

FREDERICK MORGAN PADELFORD.

Seattle, October 20, 1920.

ERRATA

Page 16, line 10, alter to read: a lad of no birth but of marked talent.

Page 20 eight lines from the foot. Read: *murdrers* for *murdres*.

Page 20, seven lines from the foot, alter to read: With egre thirst to drynke thy guyltles blood.

Page 38, second line from the foot, alter to read: & seithe eke. Oft in her lappe she holds.

Page 41, eight lines from the foot. After *verbs* add: adjectives as nouns, and verbs as nouns.

Page 41, six lines from the foot. Read: *warne* for *warm*.

Page 44, line 12. For *Claire* read *Clere*.

Page 65, Poem 27, line 1. Read *giltlesse* for *glitlesse*.

Page 67. Running head: Love Poems.

Page 175, Textual Notes to 58: Add: H 155 Or *for* A.

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INTRODUCTION

THE DRAMATIC CAREER OF SURREY

The poems of Surrey are the lyrical accompaniment of an impressive tragedy. It is the wont of the historian, to be sure, to regard these poems mainly as furnishing an interesting chapter in the development of English verse technique, or as marking the entrance of the Italian tradition into our literature. Yet to approach them with this restricted interest is to forego the more lively pleasure for one that is academic and slighter. Rather, they should be read while the imagination is filled with the tragedy of the young poet's life, a tragedy of superb depth and range, from which these poems were thrown off like chance sparks. Never was there Greek hero who better satisfied than did Surrey the classical requirements of the tragic muse: a young nobleman, favored by birth and by fortune, the most brilliant and engaging figure in a distinguished court, ambitious, resourceful, and impatient to give full expression to his powers, yet compelled to reckon with a tyrannical superior who would brook not the faintest semblance of a rival. Even so—and here the ironical laughter of the gods is heard the loudest—, had the culminating events in the tragedy been delayed but a few days, the life of the hero would have been spared through the death of his foe. The histories of the great families that supplied the Greek dramatists with the materials for their plays provide no example of a career more ideally designed for the uses of tragedy.

Now from the first naive enthusiasms of youth to the moment when, at the age of twenty-nine, he felt death's hand closing around him, Surrey turned to his poetry for companionship, for delight and consolation, and although only a few of the poems are autobiographical in the stricter sense, the poet yet revealed through the idealizing medium of his verse the substantial outlines of his character and of his career. True artist that he was, he enfolded himself for the most part in the half-concealing envelope of his art, but the poems are only the more fascinating because the man Surrey, who stands out boldly in an occasional poem, is in others only a half-revealed, though a very certain presence. The reader should therefore approach the poetry with no mere scientific or antiquarian interest, but as seeking therein the key to a life, brilliant and brief, which was of the very essence of the dramatic.

Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, was probably born in 1517.¹ He was the eldest son of Thomas Howard, afterward third Duke of Norfolk, by his second wife Elizabeth, daughter of Edward Stafford, the ill-fated Duke of Buckingham. Surrey was thus born in the purple, for the Howards and the Staffords represented the highest nobility of the realm. The rise of the Howard family dates back to a shrewd marriage in the early years of the fifteenth century when a certain Robert Howard married Margaret Mowbray. This Margaret Mowbray could boast the royal blood of three realms, for she was descended paternally from Thomas de Brotherton, Earl of Norfolk, Earl Marshal, last son of Edward

I, by his second wife, Margaret of France; and maternally from Edward I by his first wife, Eleanor of Castile. The father of Margaret Mowbray had inherited the Brotherton estate, augmented by gifts from Richard II, and the hereditary titles of Grand Marshal and Earl of Norfolk. This title of Earl of Norfolk had later been raised to that of Duke of Norfolk.

Upon the extinction of the Mowbray family in 1483, Richard III made John Howard, the son of Robert, Duke of Norfolk, gave him the Mowbray estates and the title of Earl Marshal, and conferred upon his son, Thomas, the title of Earl of Surrey. John Howard repaid Richard by taking part in the plot to murder the princes in the Tower, and by giving up his life on Bosworth Field.

When Henry VII became king, Thomas Howard, the son, was imprisoned and shorn of his titles and property. He succeeded in winning the confidence of the sovereign, however, and shortly became a favorite and confidant. His policy was to uphold the one on the throne, and consequently, before the death of Henry, the hereditary titles and all of the estate had been restored to the Howard family, and Howard had even succeeded in obtaining the hand of the Queen's sister, Lady Anne Plantagenet, the third daughter of Edward IV, for his son Thomas. This Duke of Norfolk, like all of the Howards, was a rigorous soldier but a poor diplomat. When seventy years of age he sent a taunting message to James IV of Scotland, and then won the brilliant victory of Flodden Field. But he was no match for the adroit Wolsey in the game of diplomacy and was forced to buckle under to this low-born politician. It is eloquent testimony to the way in which the Tudors reduced the leaders of the old families to dignified officials entirely dependent upon the crown that, though the Duke of Norfolk was given nominal charge of the kingdom while Henry VIII was absent at the Field of the Cloth of Gold, in the following year, 1521, he was forced to preside at the trial of Buckingham, a life-long friend, the head of a family from which he had sought a wife for his eldest son, and a nobleman with whose irritation at the aggrandizement of the King he was in full accord.

Thomas Howard, the third Duke of Norfolk, followed in the footsteps of his father. He excelled in arms but was weak in diplomacy. He was employed in military campaigns against Scotland, Ireland and France, favored the divorce of Queen Katharine, presided at the trial of his niece, Anne Boleyn, and arranged for her execution, waxed fat on the dissolution of the monasteries, hated Wolsey and Cromwell, allowed himself to be outwitted by Thomas Seymour, the Earl of Hertford, and his other enemies, escaped execution only through the timely death of Henry himself, spent the reign of Edward VI in the Tower, and was finally restored to a few years of freedom and service under Mary.

If the public life of the Third Duke of Norfolk was thus full of heat and vicissitude, his private life was even more stormy. His second wife, Elizabeth Stafford, one of the most accomplished women of the time, possessed a jealous and vindictive temper, and the conduct of the Duke gave her abundant opportunity to exercise it. Consequently, after many years of domestic discord, a separation took place in 1533, and the Duke henceforth lived unblushingly with his mistress, Elizabeth Holland, "a churl's daughter," as the proud Duchess testified,

"who was but a washer in my nursery eight years." So deep seated was the resentment of the Duchess that, fourteen years after the separation, she welcomed the opportunity to testify against her husband when he was on trial for his life.

We can better understand this temper of the Duchess of Norfolk when we reflect that she was the daughter of Lady Elinor Percy and thus had the hot blood of the free spirited Northumberlands in her veins. Moreover, if her husband could boast the royal blood of Edward the Confessor and of the ancient houses of France and Castile, was not her father descended from Edward III, a later sovereign, and was not her paternal grandmother sister to the queen of Edward IV! Small wonder that in his early twenties, the child of this marriage was properly described as "the most foolish proud boy that is in England."

Such was the ancestry and such the heritage of Henry Howard. The blood of kings ran in his veins and the pride of kings was in his heart.

It is not known where Surrey was born, but as he was known in his youth as "Henry Howard of Kenninghall," Kenninghall, which was one of the manors of his grandfather, may well have been his birthplace. His early boyhood was probably spent at one and another of the ancestral estates, for the account book of the Duchess for 1523 shows that part of that year was spent at his father's house at Stoke Hall, Suffolk, and part, at his grandfather's home at Hunsdon, Hertfordshire. The child saw virtually nothing of his father during his tender years; from 1520-1525 the Duke was almost continually engaged in military operations either in Ireland or against the Scotch or French, and for several years thereafter was absorbed in state affairs, furthering the divorce of the King, and leading the fight against Wolsey, into whose position he hoped to step. The training of the child therefore devolved upon the mother. The responsibilities of life must have weighed rather heavily upon the Duchess, for, married at the age of fifteen, she was scarcely turned nineteen when this first child was born, and but two years older when she gave birth to a second child, the daughter Mary. Any tenderness between husband and wife had already disappeared, if we may trust the testimony of the Duchess that Norfolk treated her with cruelty at the time of the daughter's birth. Small chance for affection, indeed, between this slip of a girl and a husband twenty-five years her senior, a brutal soldier and a self-absorbed politician, lusting for power! Scant room for kindness in the bright, cold eyes, the sharp nose, and the thin, cruel lips, if Holbein has told his customary truth! And if any sparks of affection had survived, they must have become quite cold, when in 1524 the Duchess saw the father of her husband pass sentence upon her own father for treason and while with one hand he wiped away the tears that he professed to shed, with the other accepted the deeds to a large part of the confiscated estates.

But despite her domestic misery, the Duchess remained a woman with intellectual ideals, and her children should receive the best training that was to be had. She apparently attracted gifted men, for aside from the tutors, who were men of literary attainments, Skelton—with all his grotesqueness the leading poet of the day—wrote his "A goodely Garlande or Chapelet of Laurell" while her

guest. It would seem to have been her ambition to play the part of those accomplished Italian women, such as the Duchesses of Urbino, Ferrara and Milan who made their courts the centers for letters and refined intercourse. The seriousness with which the education of Surrey was undertaken may be judged from the discussion which took place relative to his sister Mary, when it was finally decided that because of her "tender years"—she was then two—she should not be put to her languages for the present.

The tutor was John Clerk, an Oxford man, an author of standing, who possessed a catholic taste which embraced the modern as well as the classical literatures. We do not know exactly what authors were read, but the poet's subsequent familiarity with Virgil, Horace and Martial, on the one hand, and Petrarca, Serafino and Sannazzaro, on the other, shows the general trend of his education. In all probability Clerk grounded his pupil before his twelfth year in Latin, French, Italian and Spanish, for, in dedicating his "Treatise of Nobility" to Norfolk, Clerk commends translations from Latin, Italian and Spanish made by Surrey in his youth, and the treatise "*Opusculum plane divinum de mortuorum resurrectione et extremo judicio*," dedicated to Surrey himself, is in four languages—Latin, English, French and Italian. Clerk was not only an enthusiast for letters, but a zealous Catholic, as his later imprisonment under Edward shows, and he doubtless sought to awaken the lad's religious sense, and to establish his Catholic preferences. Such encouragement was perhaps hardly necessary, for Surrey as a matter of course shared in that opposition to the protestant wing of the Church which was consistently maintained by the older families. Protestantism was necessarily associated in their minds with the pushing middle class whom the Tudors were constantly encouraging at the expense of a long-established nobility. However little any early religious training may have shown in the conduct of the lad, it was grandly vindicated in the closing days of his life when, for solace in the dark hours, he made translations from the Psalms that breathe the whole spirit of Christian and Catholic faith.

Perhaps the education of the boy, for all his enthusiasm, was not without its occasional shadows, since he lived in an age when the rod was still the potent adjunct of the master, and there may be a boyhood reminiscence in the lines:

I saw the lytle boy, in thought how oft that he
Did wish of God, to scape the rod, a tall young man to be.

Toward the close of the year 1529 when the youthful Surrey was about to enter his teens, events transpired that suddenly withdrew him from the shelter of a retired home, and presented him to the public as a young man of consequence. That these events greatly stimulated a boy, ambitious and proud, conscious of his father's position in the realm and of the blood and exploits of his ancestors, goes without saying. One of these events was the royal proposal, virtually a command, that Surrey become the companion of the King's illegitimate son, Henry, the Duke of Richmond, a lad sixteen months younger than Surrey, for whom the sovereign felt the greatest affection; the other event was the proposal, urged by Anne Boleyn, that Henry should affiance his daughter, Princess Mary, to the

young Howard. The ambitious Duke was elated enough at the request that his son be companion to Richmond. This elation is reflected in a letter which Eustache Chapuis, the Imperial Ambassador, wrote to the Emperor under the date of December 9, wherein he tells of a dinner that he had with the Duke: "After this he took me by the hand to conduct me to the supper table, and during the repast shewed me a letter from his son in very good Latin, which he desired me to read and give my opinion upon, adding that he was much pleased with the youth's proficiency and advancement in letters, as it was a very good commencement for a project which he had, and would declare to me later in the evening. And so he did, for about midnight, on my leaving the house where the French ambassador and Papal Nuncio still remained, he also left, and though there was a much shorter road to his hotel, insisted on passing by my lodgings and accompanying me thither. In the course of conversation he said to me: 'I told you that I was on many accounts delighted to see my son making so much progress in his studies, and following the path of virtue, and since it is but proper that friends should communicate to each other their most secret affairs and thoughts, I do not hesitate to tell you my ideas on this subject. The King has entrusted to me the education of his bastard son, the duke of Richmond, of whom my own son may become in time preceptor and tutor (*incitateur*), that he may attain both knowledge and virtue, so that a friendship thus cemented promises fair to be very strong and firm, and will be further consolidated by alliance; for the King wishes the Duke to marry one of my daughters.'"²

Accordingly, Surrey was made the companion of the royal bastard and the lads were together almost constantly for several years.

In all ages there is no human relationship more noble than the friendships of generous-hearted young men, and the sixteenth century was a period when friendships between men were developed with a peculiar lack of restraint and with an ardency that surprises us today. We get some idea of these emotional friendships in the sonnets of Shakespeare, in the correspondence of Sidney and Languet, in the devotion of Edward II to Gaveston in Marlowe's drama, and in the various episodes of the Legend of Friendship in the *Faerie Queene*. The beautiful friendship that sprang up between the two lads was of such a character, and these were doubtless the happiest years of Surrey's life. In this morning expanse of blue there was nothing to suggest the ugly storms soon to gather.

Two years and nine months were spent at Windsor, a period which the poet, then a prisoner in this very Windsor, later recalled in the pathetic poem beginning:

So crewell prison! How could betyde, alas!
As prowde Wyndsour, where I, in lust and ioye,
With a kinges son my childishe yeres did passe,

a poem which is at once a passionate threnody for the dear friend of his youth, whom death had snatched away, and a lament for his own lost boyhood. It was a period of affectionate confidences, of generous emulation in those sports and knightly exercises which became young noblemen and in which these lads were

soon to win golden opinions, and of the first stirrings of romantic passion. To be sure, the verses which describe these tender sentiments seem adapted rather to the experiences of young men than of boys of fourteen and fifteen and doubtless are conformed to the traditions of romantic verse, yet I think we need not take even these lines to be purely fanciful, for, quite aside from the stimulating presence of the young women of the court, Surrey at least had prepared himself for like emotions through dwelling upon the tender laments of Petrarca and his school.

There is nothing that more enlarges the horizon of youth than foreign travel. A different landscape, new styles of architecture, fresh manners and customs, the novelty of foreign attire, the look of foreign faces, and a strange tongue ever in one's ear stimulate the imagination and quicken the mental pulse. Especially is this true if one visit a country where the arts of life have reached a higher plane of refinement than at home. Consequently Henry was anxious that his son should stir abroad, and when in the autumn of 1532 he found it desirable to visit French soil for a seven days' interview with Francis I, he took Richmond and the young Howard with him. In the course of the interview Henry proposed what had doubtless been his intention in bringing the lads with him, that they should remain in France as the guest of the King, in order that their manners might be conformed to the polite models of the French court and their general education advanced. Consequently, as soon as the interview was over, the lads bade goodbye to the English retinue and attended Francis on his journey to Chantilly; not, however, before Surrey had enjoyed the satisfaction of seeing his father decorated by Francis with the collar of the order of Saint Michael. The news that these young English noblemen attended the royal party quickly spread and they were accorded true French courtesy throughout the journey: "My Lorde of Richmonde and my lorde of Surrey in all their journey toward the French courte have been very well welcomed and in all places have had presents of wines with other genteel offres" wrote Richard Tate, an attendant, to Cromwell.³ Arrived at Chantilly, Francis embraced the Duke of Richmond and remarking that he now had four sons, presented the English lads to the three princes, with directions that they should be lodged together.⁴ In age the five boys were well suited to companionship. Francis, the dauphin, in his fifteenth year, was twelve months younger than Surrey; Henry, Duke of Orleans, was in his fourteenth year, three months older than Richmond; and Charles, Duke of Angoulême, was ten. During the greater part of the visit, which lasted nearly a year, the boys were thrown almost constantly together, and the sincerity of the friendships and the impression which Surrey made upon these carefully nurtured French boys is reflected in a letter which the English Ambassador, Sir John Wallop, wrote to Henry VIII in 1540, several years after the visit and four years after the death of Richmond: "He (Henry, now Dauphin by virtue of the death of Francis) began to speke of my lorde of Richemond lamenting his death greatly, and so did M. d' Orleans, (Charles) likewise; they both then asking for my Lorde of Surrey giving great praise unto hym as well for his wisdom and soberness as also good learning."⁵ Surrey seemed to have inspired Francis himself with equal respect and

confidence, for when in 1546 Francis learned that Surrey had been accused of treason, he was much surprised and questioned the justice of the accusation.

In the course of their sojourn Richmond and Surrey had an opportunity to visit practically all parts of France. After a prolonged stay at beautiful Fontainebleau they attended Francis in the spring to Lyons, where he expected to hold an interview with Clement VII. The journey was a leisurely one as the King desired to inspect on the way as many localities as possible. As the Pope asked a delay in the interview, Francis decided to visit the southern provinces of France, and this gave Surrey an opportunity to see the old and picturesque civilization that lay along the Mediterranean—Toulouse, Beziers, Montpellier. What must have been the sentiments of this imaginative youth as he journeyed through this land of "sun-burnt mirth," eloquent with the mythical memories of a great school of lyric poets, or as he first gazed upon the blue waters of the Mediterranean, waters which had borne Odysseus and Jason and Aeneas, and whose waves had washed immemorially the magic shores of Italy and Greece and Carthage!

Yet it is not a little strange that only one reference to this trip occurs in all of Surrey's poetry and that recalls—probably on the occasion of his return to France for military duty in 1544—the intense heat that he had experienced on this midsummer trip to the south.⁶ In the meantime the Duke of Norfolk had come again to France, this time to act as the representative of Henry at the proposed conference with the Pope. His persistent efforts to alienate Francis from the Holy See were plainly wearisome to the monarch and Francis was no doubt relieved when Norfolk announced, in the middle of August, that Henry had recalled him. But of far greater moment to the two friends was the royal command that Richmond should return forthwith to England, in order that he might wed Mary Howard, a sister of Surrey, now a maiden of fourteen, whose brilliancy and charms were already winning admiration. This news undoubtedly gave the liveliest satisfaction to both Richmond and Surrey, and they thus found their friendship cemented by still another bond. In the early days of October they set foot again on English soil.

We have stated above that in the year 1529 Surrey was being suggested as a suitable husband for the Princess Mary. This proposal originated with Anne Boleyn, who in the latter part of that year urged the union upon the King. To the Duke of Norfolk, who always regarded marriage in a commercial light, this proposal was undoubtedly most pleasing, and Surrey himself was old enough to appreciate its significance. Anne's purpose in urging this marriage was of course to strengthen her own claim upon the King through this union of the two houses. The King would seem to have given partial consent to the project. In October of the following year, however, Anne completely changed her attitude and so effectually opposed the marriage that she compelled the disappointed and reluctant Norfolk to affiance his son to Lady Francis Vere, daughter of the Earl of Oxford. It is uncertain just what motive actuated Anne in this change; perhaps she was afraid that she would herself be affianced to Surrey, for

in June 1530 her father was reported to be urging such a match, but more probably she had come to see what the Imperial Ambassador was quick to see,⁷ that if Mary and Surrey were married, Norfolk would lose all interest in furthering Anne's cause with the King and would trust to the marriage of the children for his influence. The contract for Surrey's marriage to Lady Francis was accordingly signed in February 1532 and the marriage followed shortly, though, because of their youth, Surrey and his wife did not live together until 1535. Youthful as he was, Surrey was not too young to appreciate the golden opportunity which fortune had thus snatched away from him. With the buoyancy of youth, however, he probably put aside his disappointment, especially as fortune seemed to be smiling upon him in so many other ways.

We hear little of Surrey in the two years that followed his return from France. Presumably he was at court with Richmond. This arrangement would have been to Richmond's liking, and no other life would have satisfied a young man with intellectual tastes so cultivated and manners so refined. Even then the court, at the best somewhat provincial, must have seemed cramped to a youth of cosmopolitan interests. This may well have been the period when Surrey produced much of his lighter verse, for his formal education was now complete, he was overflowing with exuberant spirits, and he had not yet assumed the burden of military and diplomatic services. His year at the French court had shown him the honor which attends the poet or man of letters in a cultivated society, and he set about winning for himself the immortal crown of laurel; he would be the first poet of modern England, the Petrarca of Albion. Accordingly he experimented with the sonnet and with the epigram; with the terza rima, the rhyme royal, the ottava rima and the alternate sixes and sevens; now translating, now adapting, and now composing independently. This early polite verse, though superficial in emotion and sometimes awkward and heavy, more often is spirited and graceful, with occasional bits of nature description that have a breath and reality worthy of the best English tradition, and justifies Sidney's observation that many of the lyrics "taste of a noble birth and are worthy of a noble mind."

Such is the first act in the drama of Surrey's life. It shows a youth whose lines had indeed fallen in pleasant places and who had every reason to feel that fortune had chosen him for her minion. With the exception of the domestic troubles of his parents and such disappointment as he may have felt in the frustration of the proposed marriage with Mary, his life had been quite free from cloud. A romantic comedy has its reverses, but they merely serve as shading, and Surrey's career gave promise of being such a comedy, certainly not a tragedy.

But the year 1536, which ushers in Act II, brought the realities of life home with telling force. On March 10 Surrey's first child was born⁸ and this young husband of nineteen found himself face to face with the responsibilities of parenthood. On May 15 occurred the trial of Anne Boleyn, and Surrey was forced to act the part of Earl Marshal in place of his father who, as Lord Treasurer, presided. Surrey knew the passionate nature of his cousin, but he knew as well

the vile motives that prompted the King, and he felt the utmost contempt for the sovereign's conduct. Close upon the heels of the execution followed Henry's disquieting marriage to Jane Seymour, a representative of the rival house which was pitted against the Howards in a bitter struggle to hold first place in influence with the King. The following month another relative fell a victim to the King's tyranny, when an uncle, Thomas Howard, was committed to the tower for having secretly affianced Margaret Douglas, one of the intimate friends of the Duchess of Richmond and probably of the poet himself. The Duchess had actually interested herself in the affair to the extent of shielding the clandestine meetings, and Surrey may well have been a party to them. But the most crushing blow fell in July, when, on the twenty-second, the Duke of Richmond died, and a companionship peculiarly of the heart was broken. The poet was utterly disconsolate, and such was the depth of his feeling that for two years he was reported ill from the effects of his grief.

In the autumn he was required to assist his father in repressing the rebellion in the north, known as the Pilgrimage of Grace. This was at the best a sorry business, for since three of the demands of the rebels were for reforms that the Howards above all things desired—the re-establishment of the nobility in their time-honored position of influence and authority, the suppression of upstart statesmen, and the return to the old religion—, at heart the family must have been in sympathy with the rebellion. It was thoroughly characteristic of the policy of Henry thus to compromise his subjects, and such a high-spirited young man as Surrey found his position peculiarly galling. If Surrey was not incautious enough actually to express his sympathies, they were surmised, and in this connection happened an affair which threatened to be serious. It seems that Thomas, Lord Darcy, who had been prominently identified with the Pilgrimage of Grace, after the pardon granted by the King had taken up arms afresh, and had been condemned to die therefor. In his final testimony he alleged that, though Surrey served among the royal troops, his heart was with the rebels. This accusation was reported to Surrey, probably by some member of the Seymour faction, in the park at Hampton Court; whereupon Surrey who, with all of his open and generous qualities, possessed an uncontrollable temper, struck his accuser. It was a good English way of vindicating ones self, but, unfortunately, the penalty for such an offense on the royal premises was the loss of the right hand. In this extreme situation, the Duke of Norfolk, who was necessarily detained in Yorkshire, swallowed his pride and implored the good offices of Cromwell. Cromwell, who saw the political advantage in compliance, used his influence with the Privy Council, and the offender was merely confined at Windsor. The confinement did not begin before July twelfth, as on that date Surrey was reported ill at Kenninghall, and it lasted not more than four months. Surrey probably employed his time in writing poetry, for three of his poems, "29," "30" and "31", were clearly written then. The first is a graceful compliment to Elizabeth Fitzgerald, a little maiden whom he had recently met and who had quite caught his fancy; the second is a regret for the

"rakehell life" that he is missing; and the third is the noble lament for the golden days of youth and friendship to which we have alluded above.⁹

In November the Queen, Jane Seymour, died, and the Howards saw the prestige of the rival family diminished accordingly. Freshly relieved from his confinement and aware of the royal disapproval, Surrey attended the funeral procession from Hampton to Windsor as a principal mourner. Thereafter he retired to Kenninghall and spent the remainder of that year and the following in privacy. Henry had no mind to call him back to court. The poet turned again to domestic interests and to his verse, giving generously of his time to his page, Thomas Churchyard, a lad of no birth of marked talent, in whom he saw a poet of promise. But the Duke of Norfolk was not a man to wait patiently for the return of favor. With his son virtually ostracized, and his daughter, in the happy phrase of Bapst, a "*déclassée*" by virtue of her premature widowhood—she was called "the maiden, wife and widow all in one," since her marriage to Richmond was never actually consummated—, he bestirred himself to think of some means of bettering the family situation. When at a loss for other means of reinstating his fortune, the Duke always turned to a marriage, and in this case he bethought himself of a match between the Duchess of Richmond and Sir Thomas Seymour, the brother of Hertford. It went a bit against the grain to make an alliance with a newly-rich family, but Norfolk characteristically explained this away by saying that "no good came by the conjunction of high bloods together." The advantages were manifest: his daughter, as aunt to the Heir Apparent, would at once assume a leading position at court; his son would be brought from retirement; and a long-standing family hostility would be at an end. Sir Thomas was pleased with overtures from so ancient a house, the King was acquiescent, and the Duchess was seemingly holding the proposal in the balance, when she abruptly left the court and returned to Kenninghall. History has never properly cleared up the affair, but the marriage did not take place. Bapst is probably right in his conjecture that Surrey, who had conceived an intense antipathy for these upstart nobility, violently opposed the marriage and dissuaded his sister from it. Certain it is that he upbraided her in the bitterest terms when the proposal was again made a few years later. So the last scene of Act Two in the drama of Surrey's life must be placed at Kenninghall, a scene of intense emotion between brother and sister. The curtain falls upon the act with Surrey removed from the royal favor and the Seymours more embittered than ever by this last affront.

The third act is one of great dramatic power, in which, through successive scenes, one beholds the fortunes of the Howards raised to the highest pitch, only to see them undergo a violent reversal in scenes of spectacular brilliancy.

In December 1538, Henry suddenly found himself confronted with a hostile league which embraced the Empire, France and Scotland. This exigency called for prompt action and the preparations for defense were hurriedly apportioned among the nobility. Surrey was accordingly brought from his retirement to organize the defence in Norfolk. He eagerly seized the opportunity to retrieve himself and evidently he was successful to some extent in mollifying

the ill will of the King, for in June he was called to London to take part in the funeral ceremonies in honor of Isabella, the wife of the Emperor. When the war cloud blew over, interest was transferred to the marriage of Henry to Anne of Cleves, and though this marriage project which Cromwell had so skillfully nursed must have been repugnant to a family of strong anti-protestant sympathies, Surrey accepted it with grace, seemingly bent on winning back the complete good will of the sovereign. He was so far successful that he was chosen as one of the party to await with the King the arrival of Anne at Greenwich,¹⁰ but it is not known whether or no he was one of the favored few who accompanied the impatient King on that memorable New Year's day to Rochester, where he stole his first look at the charms of the German beauty. Later, when a tournament at Westminster was declared for May day in honor of the nuptials and challenges were even sent abroad to France, the Netherlands, Spain, and Scotland, Surrey was quick to respond, impelled perhaps by a two fold motive, his eagerness to win glory and his desire to please the King. Either because of rank or of established prowess, Surrey was the first to enter the lists, and in the engagement with swords rode against Sir John Dudley with such fury that at the first course they both lost their gauntlets.¹¹ In the meantime the Duke of Norfolk, as the leader of the reactionary party, had been pushing his policies. He had succeeded in getting the bill of the famous six articles, which meant a return to more Catholic ecclesiastical policy, through the Parliament of 1539, and on the strength of this legislation had sought, in February 1540, to wean Francis I from the Emperor. To this proposal, however, the marriage of Henry to a German protestant was an insuperable obstacle, and the effort failed. But when in the late spring the King's real attitude towards his marriage became known, the Duke saw that the opportunity for which he had been waiting so long had at last come. Who was it that had caused suspicion and unrest within the realm? Cromwell. Who was it that had kept England constantly on the verge of war with the great powers abroad? Cromwell. Who was it that had treasonably duped his dear sovereign into this clownish marriage? Cromwell. The King and the nobility were one: Cromwell's hour had struck. What student of English history does not recall that dramatic scene in the Council Chamber at Westminster on the tenth of June when, as the Lieutenant of the Tower entered with the order of arrest, the Duke, laying his eager fingers upon Cromwell, cried, "My Lord of Essex, I arrest you on the charge of high treason", and then tore from his neck the decoration of St. George, while the Earl of Southampton snatched from him the garter! The young Earl of Surrey was jubilant: "Now is that fond churl dead," said he, "so ambitious of other's blood! now is he stricken with his own staff."¹² On the twelfth of July Parliament annulled the hateful marriage; on July 28, Cromwell was beheaded. The star of the Howards was in its ascendancy; it must be fixed full and fair in its heavens. The Duke knew exactly how that end was to be achieved, and on the eighth of August the King married Catherine Howard. At last here was a Queen to the King's liking, a Queen young, strong and beautiful, who gave every promise of satisfying the monarch and the aspirations

of the realm. Surely the Howards had come to their own! Surrey, confident and happy, returned with fresh enthusiasm to the pursuit of his ambitions as a humanist. Prompted by the advent of an Italian translation in blank verse of several books of the *Æneid* by men of note, he turned the second and fourth books of the epic into English, himself employing the new medium of blank verse. His intention evidently was to outdo the Italians themselves, and he clearly did surpass them in vigor and conciseness. At the same time he was busied with the erecting of a pretentious mansion, Mount Surrey, on St. Leonard's Hill, near Norwich, which was to illustrate to his countrymen the nobility and chasteness of the Greek architecture. His home was to be a centre from which would radiate the classical spirit. The King leaned heavily upon the Duke these days, and the Earl of Surrey was showered with favors. In May 1541, on nomination of the King, Surrey was made a Knight of the Garter,¹³ a unique distinction for a young man of three and twenty, not of the royal family. About the same time, he was made seneschal of the royal domains in the county of Norfolk, and in September was appointed steward of Cambridge University, a position previously held by Cromwell.¹⁴ These were but an earnest of the favors to come, when suddenly on November 13 the disclosure of the Queen's guilt broke upon the court! Cranmer and the protestant leaders could hardly conceal under the cloak of sympathy and concern for the person of the King, the real elation that they felt; the Howards bowed before the storm, benumbed with terror. The enemies of the family, who had ill brooked its late triumphs, rose on every side, and the accusing finger was pointed at one member after another. The arrests included the aged wife of Surrey's grandfather, the second Duke of Norfolk; Lord William Howard, her son; the Countess of Bridgewater, her daughter; Lady Howard, the wife of Sir William; and other members of the household: all of whom were held to be cognizant of Catherine's past. On December 22, Lord and Lady Howard were condemned to perpetual seclusion and were deprived of their properties; on February 11, a like sentence awaited the aged Duchess and the Countess of Bridgewater, and two days later the Queen was executed. At this wretched execution, the young Earl was present, heard the inspired confession of his cousin and saw her head severed from her body. Was it as a reward for his attitude when the Queen was arraigned, Bapst asks, that on December 8, 1541, the King bestowed certain manors in Norfolk and Suffolk upon the Earl?¹⁵ Perhaps, but the Earl bitterly resented the harsh, and probably unjust treatment of the aged Duchess and her children, and he voiced this resentfulness in a poem written in the fall.¹⁶ To the intense feeling that these events aroused may well be attributed one of the most daring poems that a reckless young man ever composed, the sonnet in which by implication he compares the King to Sardanapalus¹⁷ who "murdered hymself to shew some manfull dede," a poem that burns with suppressed rage from the first word to the last.

But that destiny which laughs at the fruitless ambitions of man and woos that it may taunt, was not yet satisfied. It would still pursue its victim with its mocking laughter. Therefore, on July 13, 1542, the young Earl found him-

self committed to the "pestilent ayres" of the Fleet. The bitter disappointment and chagrin that had attended the reverses of the family fortunes had left Surrey little the master of himself; consequently, forgetting to profit by the past, he allowed himself once more to give way to his temper and for the second time struck a courtier, this time a certain John a Leigh. We do not know what was the cause of the disagreement, but Bapst has made a conjecture that is at least plausible. When Surrey was on trial in 1547, his cousin, Sir Edmund Knyvet, recalled that the Earl had once taken back into his employ a former servant, who in the meantime had been in the service of Reginald Cardinal Pole, the exiled English prelate and arch-enemy of the King. Now in the year 1541, one John Leigh had been summoned before the Council for having twice interviewed the Cardinal while on the continent, and in excusing his own conduct, Bapst asks, may not this Leigh have compromised Surrey by alluding to the episode of the servant.¹⁸ In a letter to the Council, Surrey frankly attributes his conduct to "the fury of reckless youth", and yet the substance of the quarrel must have involved the whole question of his conduct and loyalty, for he requests that "durynge my affliction, in which tyme malyce is most redye to sclander the innocent, ther may be made a whole examynation of my life." To Surrey's added request that he be transferred to a more healthy place of confinement, the Council conceded, and on July 29, he was transferred to Windsor. There he met the King, and after subscribing to a heavy fine in case of further affront to John Leigh, was released.¹⁹

In the early fall occurred another episode that caused the poet intense mortification and called forth a fresh burst of temper. We know of this episode from the poem, "Eache beeste can chuse his feere," in which under the guise of an allegory, Surrey represents himself, the lion, scornfully rebuffed at some function by a lady, the wolf, to whom he humbly offered a courtesy. The function was given by Surrey himself, for he assigns that circumstance as a reason why he could not show his resentment at the time, and it was seemingly given in honor of the lady, for after she had scornfully refused his approaches she is made to say:

"Lyon yf thow hadest knowen my mynde before,
"Thow hadst not spentt thie travaile thus, and all thie payne forlorne."

The Earl, proud with the pride of youth and noble blood, was deeply wounded by this slight, and the poem throbs with angry scorn. He calls to mind the fierce prowess and stern heroism of his family: of his grandfather, the hero of Flodden Field,

a lyon of the race,
That with his pawes a crowned kinge devoured in the place;

of his uncle, the lover of Margaret Douglas, who willingly sought his death, "for loss of his true love;" of the dowager Duchess of Norfolk and her children, who were even then forced to linger in pain worse than death. With this hardihood, he contrasts the wolf-like cowardice of the lady's family, treacherous to their friends. Finally he dedicates himself to an ecstasy of revenge:

"In the revendge wherof, I vowe and sweare therto,
 A thowsand spoyles I shall commytt I never thought to do;
 And yf to light on you my happ so good shall be,
 I shall be glad to feede on that that wold have fed on me."

Who was this "fayre beast" of "fresh hew" in whose honor Surrey had thus vainly sought "to shew a friendlie cheare?" The traditional association of the names of Henry Howard and Anne Stanhope, the wife of Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford,²⁰ and the fact that the escutcheon of the Stanhopes was supported by two wolves, leaves little doubt that she it is to whom the poem is addressed. In Tottel's *Miscellany*, the poem is entitled, "A Song Written by the Earle of Surrey to a Ladie that refused to Daunce with him," and this sixteenth century title probably gives the correct circumstance.

Surrey may have been temporarily fascinated by this court beauty, whom he plainly charges with having lured him on, or he may have given the ball for the sake of policy and perhaps at the instigation of the Duke, in an effort to help mend the broken fortunes of the family. In any case, the outcome was disastrous, and widened still further the breach between the Howards and the Seymours. No power on earth could now reconcile these two houses, and therein was involved the ultimate catastrophe in the tragedy of Surrey's life.

In the late fall, Surrey accompanied his father, who had been placed in command of military operations against Scotland, to the north. The real fighting took place at Solway Moss. Surrey, who remained with the Duke, merely assisted in a brief excursion of plunder and burning conducted in the barbaric manner that had made terrible the name of Howard. This was Surrey's first real military service, but there was nothing to gratify the young man's lust for glory. Indeed, since in one of his poems, in which he apparently alludes to this northern expedition, he says that it was "spite that drave me into Boreas raigne",²¹ we may be warranted in concluding that he was reluctantly pressed into this campaign by the King, who felt that it was high time for the energy of this troublesome young man to be diverted into some safer channel.

This act, so dramatic in its rise and fall, so portentous for the future, closes with elegiac strains. Wyatt had died while Surrey was in the north, and on his return he wrote poems in honor of the dead poet. The events of the past year had given the younger poet sympathy for a man who, though having political and religious sympathies opposite to his own, had lived a heroic life, superior to the enmity and jealousies of little men. In such lines as the following, it is evident that Surrey is interpreting Wyatt's experience in the light of his own, and that with prophetic imagination he foresees his own death and fame:

Some, that watched with the murdres knyfe,
 With egre thirst to drynke thy guyltles lyfe,
 Whose practyse brake by happye end of lyfe,
 Weape envymous teares to here thy fame so good.

Indeed, the three poems in memory of Wyatt are to all intents autobiographical. For the first time the poetry of Surrey reflects the compassion, because of the kinship, of suffering. He was learning the great lessons of life, yet so as by fire.

The fourth act opens, by way of relief, with a serio-comic scene, quite in the spirit of the merry escapades of Prince Hal and his comrades. This scene shows us the more companionable side of Surrey's character, and we behold him the prince of good fellows leading his merry pals on midnight adventures. It is fortunate that the drama admits the scene, for we need this picture of free-hearted and generous companionship to correct the impression that Surrey held himself aloof from his fellows with supercilious pride. Among his companions in this merry revelry were Sir Thomas Wyatt, the son of the poet, Thomas Clere, Surrey's companion and squire, John Clere, his brother, and a certain William Pickering, of whom nothing more is known than his intimacy with the poet. The rendezvous of these merry spirits was in Lawrence Lane, at the house of Mistress Arundel, the Dame Quickly of the scene. There was doubtless many a lark here on the long winter nights, but one night, in search of fresh amusement, the young men sallied forth, went about the streets singing, shot "pellets" from their stone bows at the men whom they chanced to meet, broke the windows of residences and churches, and generally painted the town red. Another night they took boat on the Thames to Southwark, and shot at the "queans" who congregated there. Naturally there was a great clamor in the city, and the offenders were traced to Mistress Arundel's house. She tried loyally to shield her guests, who were probably a good source of income, but murder will out. The names of the offenders were taken, and the matter brought to the Privy Council. Not only were the young revellers accused of the above misdemeanors, but also of eating meat in Lent, which was a violation of royal decree. Brought before the Council, Surrey alleged a license for the eating of meat, but with that frank honesty which was one of his most engaging traits of character, confessed the impropriety of his midnight escapades. As the old record runs: "And touching the stonebowes, he coulde nott denye butt he hadde very evyll done therein; submitting himself therefore to such pönissement as sholde to them be though good. Whereupon he was committed to the Fleet."²² His conduct was in pleasing contrast to that of Wyatt and Pickering, who tried to deny their guilt and were committed to the Tower. Surrey might have escaped merely with a reprimand, but the Earl of Hertford, with a show of legal gravity that was designed to hide his real motives, remarked that "A secret and unobserved contempt of the law is a close undermining of authority, which must be either itself in indulging nothing, or be nothing in indulging all."²³

In connection with the trial there came out testimony which, though not seriously regarded at the time, was fraught with consequence. It may have reflected the kind of talk that passed between Surrey and his friends when flushed with wine; it may have been but bourgeois gossip elated at the distinction of having so eminent a person as the Earl frequenting Lawrence Lane. This testimony, as given in the contemporary records, is full of fine local color. Under date of Jan. 24, 1543 occurs the following entry: "Examination of Ric. Bourne, merchant tailor . . . On 19 Jan. was at the house of Andrew Castell,

butcher, in St. Nicholas Shalmelles in London when a maid servant of Arundell in St. Lawrence Lane came to complain that Castell had deceived her with a knuckle of veal and desired in future to have the best, for 'peers of the realm should thereof eat and besides that a prince.' Asked what prince? She answered 'The Earl of Surrey.' Said 'he was no prince, but a man of honor, and of more honor like to be.' To which she said 'Yes, and oughts other than good should become of the King he is like to be King.' Answered 'It is not so,' and she said 'It is said so.'"²⁴ And under date of April 2: "Mylicent Arundel confesses that once when my lord of Surrey was displeased about buying of cloth she told her maids in the kitchen how he fumed, and added 'I marvel they will thus mock a prince.' Why,' quoth Alys, her maid, 'is he a prince?' 'Yea Mary! is he,' quote this deponent, 'and if aught should come at the King but good his father should stand for King'. Upon further examination she cannot recollect speaking the last words 'and if aught, etc.'

"Joan Whetnall confesses that talking with her fellows touching my lord of Surrey's bed she said the arms were very like the King's, and she thought that 'if aught came at the King and my lord Prince, he would be King after his father.'"²⁵

Again confined to the Fleet, Surrey turned once more to poetry for his diversion and on this occasion composed a waggish satire on London in which he pretends that inasmuch as the besotted inhabitants of this "false Babylon" were so lost in trespasses and sins that nothing short of violence could arouse them, he took this means to bring them to a sense of their spiritual condition. In the language of Ezekiel and of Revelation, he prophesies the wrath that will fall on the city, and concludes with the praise which will ascend to heaven from the lips of the righteous for this vindication of justice.²⁶

But the time had come when this restless young man was to have a more legitimate outlet for his energy. However irritated Henry might be from time to time by the conduct of the Howards, he was too alive to his own interests and the interests of the nation to ignore the fact that the Howards had a genius for military affairs beyond that of any other family in the realm, and he confidently expected the young Earl of Surrey, brave, intrepid, versatile, to be as doughty a fighter and as skillful a general as his father and grandfather had been. It was therefore to be desired that he be given every opportunity for practical military training, especially as he had now reached the age of twenty-six and had seen no warfare of any account. Accordingly, as a body of English troops were engaged in the summer and fall of 1543 in assisting the Emperor in besieging Landrecy, then in the hands of the French, Surrey was sent thither, in October, with letters from Henry to Charles V, and to the English commander, Sir John Wallop, requesting them to give the young nobleman every opportunity for observing military operations. This request was scrupulously observed, and Surrey himself showed the greatest enthusiasm to learn and to excel. Immediately upon his arrival he made an exhaustive survey of the plan of the siege and then, desirous of getting into action as soon as possible, hastened

to join a detachment of the Imperial troops which had been sent to make a surprise attack upon Guise. He arrived just in time to take part in the retreat, which was necessitated by the arrival of French auxiliaries. We do not know just what part he played in the campaign thereafter, but when at the conclusion of the hostilities he returned to England, he left with the hearty good wishes and admiration of Charles and his generals. Shortly before his departure, he was received in special audience by the Emperor, and in the course of the interview had placed in his hands the following letter to Henry: "Most noble, most excellent and most puissant Prince, our very dear and much beloved brother and cousin, we commend ourselves to you with all affection. As my cousin, the count of Sorey (Earl of Surrey), is returning home, We shall be relieved from the necessity of writing a longer letter, since he himself will be able to tell you the occurrences of these parts. We will only add that he (the Earl) has afforded Us and Our men in the field good testimony of whose son he is, and will not be in fault in imitating the Duke (his father) and his ancestors, with such natural dexterity and gentle heart that there has been no necessity of teaching him anything, and that you will not give him orders that he does not know how to execute."²⁷

The young Earl also presented himself to the Emperor's sister, the queen of Hungary, to take formal leave and was treated by her with like consideration. Surrey's intellectual grace and refined address never failed to impress the French and Spanish. In this respect they were better able to appreciate him than were his own countrymen, who lacked in urbanity and the amenities of a cultivated society. He possessed what Englishmen of the day did not possess and could not understand, the qualities which the southern Europeans embrace in the term "the gentle heart." It was perhaps because of these golden opinions won abroad, that Henry made Surrey, upon his return, the royal cupbearer.

In the few months that now intervened before Surrey was again called to the field, he busied himself with the completion of Mount Surrey. His tastes outran his pocketbook, however, and this venture caused him much financial embarrassment. Surrey was evidently much interested in his home and in his family, but he was able to give little time to the education of his children and he engaged as their tutor the wandering scholar, Hadrianus Junius, who remained for several years in his household and from time to time embarrassed the Earl with his fulsome verses.

In the summer of 1544, Henry resumed military operations against France in conjunction with the Emperor, and Surrey now had an opportunity to demonstrate how thoroughly he had learned the lessons of the preceding year. The plan of campaign was for the main body of Imperial troops to press towards Paris from the east, and the English, from the north. Accordingly, Henry put two armies in the field, one under the Duke of Norfolk to attack Montreuil, with the aid of a detachment of the Imperial forces, the other to besiege Boulogne under his personal direction. Norfolk's army was the first to be placed in the field and crossed the Channel early in June. In the expedition, Surrey held the post of

marshal of the field, with the duties of choosing the camp and disposing the troops variously therein. Upon arriving before Montreuil, the young marshal was not at all satisfied with the ground picked out by the Imperial generals for the English camp and, much to the elation of his father, showed his independent judgment by choosing another site. In the meantime, when the French commander at Boulogne saw this English force pass by, he anticipated that Montreuil was the objective, and ignorant that a second army would soon be launched against Boulogne, transferred to Montreuil a large part of his force. Consequently, as time passed, Montreuil proved a difficult nut to crack and September found the defence still effective. We hear of Surrey's name only once in this interim. It seems that the English were to have provisions from the Netherlands, but as the commissariat was inadequate, a raid on the surrounding country was effected in which Surrey took part, and which returned to camp on September 2 with abundant provisions and news of towns pillaged and burned.²⁸

On the eleventh of September Surrey visited the King before Boulogne, probably sent by his father to report the progress of the siege of Montreuil. He arrived just in time to witness the demolition of the fortress by the English mines.

When Norfolk learned of the fall of Boulogne, he redoubled his efforts to take Montreuil. A stubborn attack was made in an effort to carry the fortifications, but it was unsuccessful. The engagement, however, showed the intrepidity and valor of Surrey, for in his eagerness to inspire his troops and to win distinction for himself, he completely outran his support and was surrounded by the enemy. In this critical situation he was saved only by the efforts of his squire, Thomas Clere, who received a wound which ultimately cost him his life. Surrey commemorated this sacrifice in a sonnet written in memory of his faithful attendant.²⁹ His affection for this young companion, which found generous expression in gifts that he could ill afford to make, and Clere's devotion to him are further evidence of the noble quality of Surrey's friendships.

As the Emperor treacherously concluded an independent peace with France, thus compelling England to face the entire French force, the operations against Montreuil were abandoned, and Henry had to content himself with the acquisition of Boulogne. October found Norfolk and his son again in England.

Aside from his attendance at a meeting of the Order of the Garter, held at St. James on St. George's Day, we hear nothing of Surrey during the following winter. With the renewal of hostilities between France and England in the summer of 1545, however, his more ambitious military aspirations were suddenly to be gratified, and then, alas!—as suddenly crushed. Francis had decided to take the initiative and to take it aggressively. Accordingly, he prepared a fleet of unprecedented size, which crossed the channel in July. The objective was the Isle of Wight, but after several days of blundering ineffectiveness, the fleet took harbor at Selsic Bill.

The English admiral, Lord Lisle—the Sir John Dudley with whom Surrey had once broken swords—having the wind in his favor, thought that he could pen in the French fleet, and sent to the King post-haste for his approval. Thereupon

the King paid the young Surrey, who seems to have been acting as an aide, the fine compliment of sending him to determine whether or not the proposed plan was advisable. Surrey reported favorably and the King gave his consent, but it was then too late, and the French fleet escaped.

Francis now gave up the idea of an English invasion, and concentrated his efforts on Boulogne. The English commander at Boulogne, Sir Edward Poyning, had for some time been requesting substantial aid, especially as the French had been pushing the construction of a fort—Chatillon—on the opposite side of the stream, which threatened the English communication by sea.

Accordingly, Henry decided to put a large army upon the continent under the leadership of his brother-in-law, the Duke of Suffolk. The advance guard of 5000 men was placed in charge of the Earl of Surrey. We can imagine the satisfaction of this ambitious young man as he reviewed these troops—his troops—with which he was to establish his military reputation. On the ninth of August he was at Portsmouth and about to embark, when he received a counter order from the Council. For the moment he must have suffered much chagrin, thinking that his command was to be taken away from him. The delay, however, proved to be due to the movements of the French fleet which threatened the passage. On the fifteenth came a second message urging him to cross the channel with all haste. This he did. Pleased as Surrey must have been with the appointment, he was soon to receive fresh proof of Henry's confidence in his efficiency, for an unexpected combination of circumstances was working in his favor. On August 18 Poyning suddenly died, and the Duke of Suffolk quite as suddenly four days later. Confronted with this untoward situation, Henry was quick to act. On August 26 he appointed Lord William Grey, then in charge of Guisnes, an English stronghold in France, to Boulogne, and appointed Surrey to the vacancy at Guisnes; at the same time he stopped the further levying of troops and decided to follow, for the present, a defensive campaign. But five days thereafter the King as suddenly reversed his decision, directed Grey to remain at Guisnes, and appointed Surrey not only Governor of Boulogne, but Lieutenant General on sea and land of all possessions on the continent. We do not know what occasioned this change of plan, but it was certainly a remarkable expression of confidence in so young a man. The King must have felt that Surrey possessed to a degree the military genius of his family. For Lord Grey it was a mortifying affair, and he was later to give evidence of his resentment.

Surrey entered upon his work with great energy. He was surrounded by young men of like spirit with himself, some of whom, notably Thomas Wyatt and Thomas Cotton, had been his boon companions, and such was the *esprit* of his troops that, until the very close of the year, they kept the French continually at disadvantage. They frustrated the plans of the enemy to force an open engagement by manning the heights above Boulogne;³⁰ by constant sallies they prevented the arrival of provisions at Chatillon;³¹ they burned the surrounding country and killed the cattle; they captured some of the French transports sent to relieve the fort and drove others away;³² they even watched their opportunity to storm the

fort itself and gained the very ramparts before they were repulsed. It was on such an occasion that Surrey, carried away by his enthusiasm and forgetful of his obligations as commander in chief, endangered his life by standing upon the very bridge of the fortress, a boyish action which quite naturally met with the disapproval of the King.³³

Not only did Surrey outgeneral the enemy on the field, but the equally stubborn opposition of the Council at home. The sentiment in England was almost unanimous against the war, and the Council were a unit against it. In vain, however, did the Duke of Norfolk and the other Councillors complain. Surrey had the ear of the King, and the King was a willing listener. "For what his Grace (The Duke of Norfolk) and the rest of the Cownsell," writes Thomas Hussey to Surrey, "workith for the render of Bowleyne and the conclewding of a pease in VI dais, ye with your letters sett bake in six owrs, sitche importanse be your letters in the Kyng's oppinion To have my judgement for Bowlleyne, as I can lerne eny Counsellour saith: 'Away with it' and the Kinge and your Lordchippe saith: 'We will kepe it?'"³⁴

The opening of the New Year found Surrey full of confidence. On the fifth he wrote to the King that the lack of food in the fortress of Chatillon was so acute that if the forthcoming plans for revictualing the fortress could be frustrated, the King "should never need to besiege the same." On the following day he learned that an expedition had set forth from Montreuil to relieve the fortress. He accordingly felt that he must give battle to prevent the arrival of the supplies. Leaving two thousand men at Boulogne to protect it, Surrey stationed twenty six hundred troops, supported by several hundred cavalry, at St. Entienne to intercept the expedition. The French wagons of provisions approached, accompanied by the cavalry ahead, five hundred strong, with the infantry, which numbered, according to both Surrey's account and the French account, about four thousand, following. Suddenly the English cavalry charged the French cavalry, taking them by surprise, completely routed them, and began to demolish the wagons. In the meantime, the English footmen, under the leadership of Surrey himself, charged the French infantry with the pike, supported by the harquebussiers. The first English line, composed of gentlemen and captains, bore themselves well, but just when victory seemed inevitable, the second line were suddenly seized with panic, and, despite every effort to rally them, broke and fled, and did not stop until they were safe within the walls of Boulogne.³⁵ The English horse finding themselves unsupported, retired in good order. According to Surrey's relation, only twenty out of one hundred and ten wagon loads of provisions reached Chatillon, but even so, it was a severe blow to the pride and confidence of the the young commander. The fortress had been revictualled, the morale of his men had been impaired, at least for the present, and though he may not have lost more men than the French, a very large percent of those killed were among the seasoned fighters and men of family.

On the following day he wrote a frank account of the affair to the King. Henry apparently took a sympathetic attitude, for on January 18, Paget wrote to

Surrey thus: "His Majesty, like a prince of wisdom, knows that who plays at a game of chaunce, must sometimes loose."³⁶

However, after a little more than a month, Surrey received the crushing news that the Earl of Hertford had been made the Lieutenant General on land, and Lord Lisle on sea. It was the most cruel disappointment that the young Earl had yet experienced.

How shall we account for this unexpected action? Bapst is of the opinion that Surrey's spirit had been broken, that he had become distrustful of himself, and that he performed his duties as if they were actually distasteful to him. He remarks that after the seventh of January Surrey did not venture another engagement and even neglected to keep King Henry informed of the situation at Boulogne, so that the Council felt called upon to reproach him. He observes that the Earl gave himself up to writing poetry and cites verses³⁷ written from Boulogne as evidence of Surrey's growing distaste for his position. Is the evidence valid, however? I think not. In the poem Surrey says that he met his guide (Love), who

Brought me amidde the hylles in base Bullayn;
Where I am now as restless to remayn
Against my will, full pleased with my payn.

Now this poem is a sonnet written in the spirit of the traditional lover's lament, and the verses quoted may be merely a graceful compliment. Moreover, if they are to be taken as a sincere expression of feeling, we have no warrant for assigning them to the days following the defeat of January 7. They may just as well have been written after Surrey learned of his demotion, when he would experience a very natural distaste for Boulogne. Of the other poems cited,³⁸ one is clearly a lament written to voice the distress of Lady Surrey at being separated from her husband. The other may be a companion poem with like purpose, or it may have been written the previous year to solace Mary Shelton for the absence of her lover, Surrey's squire, Sir Thomas Clere, though the fact that it leans heavily upon Serafino and Petrarca inclines one to question if it has any biographical significance. But as Surrey had asked as early as October³⁹ to have his wife join him, there is no reason for assigning these poems to any particular date. They are merely the graceful and affectionate products of an hour of relaxation, and show how constant was the poet's devotion to his verse.

Surrey's alleged neglect of his reports and consequent reproof by the Council is based upon a letter dated wrongly December 11, in which the Council complains that the King had heard indirectly of the death of Sir John Pollard and of a conflict with the enemy. Now the probable date of this letter is not February 20-25, as conjectured by Bapst, but January 11, a mere slip in naming the month, for the death of Pollard is announced and the conflict fully described in Surrey's letter of January 8. This letter was in some way delayed, perhaps by storm, but it was in the hands of the Council within a few days after the eleventh for on January 18 Paget replies to it.

It is true that Surrey did not venture an engagement after the seventh of January, but it must be remembered that the self-confidence of his men had been

shaken by defeat. In his letter of July eighth, he remarks in a postscript that probably the enemy will shortly venture to bring future supplies, and asked his Majesty, "to resolve what further is to be done by us."

I see no reason for thinking that Surrey showed lack of heart or of interest prior to his demotion. It is true that on February 20 and 21, he did write letters in which he painted the situation in gloomy terms, but as the postscript of these letters makes clear, that was after he had learned of his displacement.⁴⁰

I believe that the correct explanation is rather to be found in an undated letter from Paget to Surrey, written in response to Surrey's letter of March sixteenth. In the course of this letter, Paget discusses Surrey's personal situation as follows: "Now, my Lord, because you have been pleased I should write mine advice to your Lordship in things concerning your honor and benefit, I could no less do than put you in remembrance how much in mine opinion this shall touch your honour, if you should pass the thing over in silence until the very time of my Lord of Hertford's coming over thither; for so should both your authority be taken away, as I fear is Boulonnois, and also it should fortune ye to come abroad without any place of estimation in the field; which the world would much muse at, and though there be no such matter, think you were rejected upon occasion of some either negligence, inexperience, or other such like fault; for so many heads so many judgements. Wherefore, my Lord, in my opinion, you should do well to make sure by times to his Majesty to appoint you to some place of service in th' army; as to the captainship of the Foreward, or Rearward; or to such other place of honour as should be meet for you; for so should you be where knowledge and experience may be gotten. Whereby you should the better be able hereafter to serve, and also to have peradventure occasion to do some notable service in revenge of your men, at the last encounter with th' enemies, which should be to your reputation in the world. Whereas, being hitherto noted as you are a man of a noble courage, and of a desire to shew the same to the face of your enemies, if you should now tarry at home within a wall, having I doubt a shew of your authority touched, it would be thought abroad I fear, that either you were desirous to tarry in a sure place of rest, or else that the credit of your courage and forwardness to serve had diminished; and that you were taken here for a man of (little) activity or service."⁴¹

Now I am of the opinion that though Paget was careful to say "though there be no such matter," he has actually given voice to the King's own criticism. Henry recognized that Surrey was a man of great personal bravery, but he also appreciated that Surrey's willingness to show his face to the enemy had unwarrantably endangered his life. Again, though the King was generous about it, he evidently felt that Surrey had handled the affair badly, for Paget plainly says that Surrey has his reputation to win back. Moreover, in the trial the following year, Elizabeth Holland, his father's mistress, testified that Surrey had complained that the King had expressed displeasure over the defeat at Boulogne; whether this testimony be true or not, it showed what the King's attitude was thought to be. Furthermore, the King rather clearly lacked confidence in

Surrey's ability to plan the fortifications and to map out a policy for actually taking the French fort. Late in December he sent Bellingham, a man of high repute, to assist Surrey in these undertakings. In the meantime Surrey had prepared plans in conjunction with Sir Thomas Palmer and others; plans which he dispatched by one Rogers, a man of engineering experience, on January fifth, though Bellingham had already arrived. Now on March eighth, Surrey still retaining the command of Boulogne, Paget wrote him a letter stating that Rogers, as a man in whom confidence was felt, had been authorized to construct the fortifications, and giving as one reason therefor the uncertainty shown by Surrey and Palmer, "liking now one thing, and another time misliking the same." Surrey felt very resentful of this action and took occasion severely to criticize Roger's plans.⁴²

Henry had come to feel, I believe, that he had over-estimated Surrey's ability; that the Earl was rather too young and inexperienced for the great responsibilities that had been placed upon him, and that men of more experience were needed on the Continent. Consequently he replaced him. Yet the King doubtless felt that Surrey would become, with experience, an able military leader, and his attitude is hinted at in the advice contained in Paget's letter. That he took his share of the responsibility and wished to make it as easy for Surrey as he could, is shown by his grant to Surrey, immediately after his return, of the full proprietary right of the Abbey of Wyndham, which the Earl had possessed before only in usufruct.

Surrey retained the command at Boulogne until he was summoned to England by the Council on March 21, ostensibly to confer on the mooted points in the plans of fortification. Before he left he had the satisfaction of defeating the enemy in a lively engagement, and he wrote home with stern satisfaction that "the Frenchmen can run as fast away up the hill, as the Englishmen not long ago ran down."⁴³

On the ninth of April, Lord Grey was appointed Governor of Boulogne. Grey had been stung by the treatment that he had received the year before, and he was eager to injure Surrey as much as possible. Accordingly he discharged appointees of Surrey's and accused the Earl himself of dishonesty. Writing Paget on July 14, the Earl appealed for the rights of these officers, accused Grey in return of assuming one of the offices for his own profit, and proudly defended himself with the words: "And for answer, that the said Lord chargeth me to have returned the same to my private profect, in his so saying he can have none honour. For there be in Boulogne too many witnesses that Henry of Surrey was never for singular profect corrupted; nor never yet bribe closed his hand: which lesson I learned of my Father and wish to succeed him therein as in the rest."⁴⁴ It is certainly to the credit of Surrey that while in command on the Continent he spoke of Grey in terms of praise. Indeed in reading the correspondence of Surrey with the King and the Council, one is struck by his punctilious and generous recognition of subordinates and the modesty with which he alludes to himself.

Surrey returned to England embittered in spirit, and especially bitter in his feeling toward Hertford. This upstart nobleman was considered worthy to be entrusted with a position in which he was deemed to have failed! Imagine his feelings, then, when he learned that his father had proposed afresh the marriage of Thomas Seymour and the Duchess of Richmond and had sought royal sanction therefor; indeed, not only had renewed that project but had actually proposed a series of marriages between his own children and the children of the Seymours. Loftily declaring that while he lived no son of his should ever marry a Seymour, he turned upon his sister and with vehement irony told her to go ahead with her marriage, and, since her future husband was so great a favorite, to use her position to insinuate herself into the good graces of the King, become his mistress and play the role that the Duchesse d'Etampes—the mistress of Francis I—enjoyed in France. Surrey accomplished his end, the marriage projects were abandoned, but the Duchess of Richmond, young, beautiful, gifted and ambitious, never forgave her brother for his harsh words.

So concludes the fourth act of the drama, an act which has been full of the ambitions of the warrior and the clash of arms. In it we have seen the rapid and brilliant rise of the young hero to a position of great eminence, and then we have seen his failure and disappointment. In the meantime, not only has his influence been weakened, but the enmity between him and his rivals has steadily increased, and they are waiting for the opportunity to accomplish his overthrow. This, the hero, in his pride and folly, will give them, and therewith begins the fifth act.

According to the Aristotelian tradition, the ideal tragic hero is a man of power and of nobility, who towers far above ordinary mortals both in worldly fortune and in distinction of character, but who has some fatal defect which brings its tragic retribution. Surrey was such a hero, the fatal defect was his pride.

As the year 1546 progressed, it became increasingly evident that the health of the King was failing and gossip was rife as to who should fill the office of Protector of the young Prince. As there were only two Dukes in England at the time, and as the Duke of Suffolk was not of age, the presumption was in favor of Norfolk. Moreover his name had been mentioned in connection with the throne as long ago as the divorce of Queen Katharine. Surrey did not hesitate to champion his father's claims, even in hostile quarters. Thus on one occasion he haughtily advocated them in a conversation with a companion of his military days, one Sir George Blage, a Low Churchman, who had narrowly escaped a martyr's death at Smithfield, and who felt bitterly hostile to Norfolk as a champion of the High Church party. The conversation ended in angry words and threats, and Blage was not slow to spread the alarm among the sympathizers of the Low Church. In the trial of Surrey this conversation was repeated by a witness, Sir Edward Rogers, as follows: "Recollects that Mr. Blage, about a year or three quarters of a year ago, speaking of the matter here ensuing, related how he had said to the Earl of Surrey that he thought that such as the

King should specially appoint thereto should be meetest to rule the Prince in the event of the King's death. The Earl on the contrary held that his father was meetest, both for good services done and for estate. Blage replied that then the Prince should be but evil taught; and, in mulplying words, said 'Rather than it should come to pass that the Prince should be under the government of your father or you, I would bide the adventure to thrust this dagger in you.' The Earl said that he was very hasty, and that God sent a shrewd cow short horns. 'Yea, my lord (quod Blage), and I trust your horns also shall be kept so short as ye shall not be able to do any hurt with them.' Afterwards the Earl, who at the time had no weapon, took sword and dagger and went to Blage's house 'and said unto him, that of late he had been very hasty with him'; but what passed further Deponent does not remember."⁴⁵

The feeling between the two factions became increasingly acute, and Surrey, rashly confident, even prophesied the punishment that his enemies should receive when once the King was dead: "The new men," he said "should smart for it." The new men, for their part, had no desire to smart, and they cast about for some accusation which would appeal to the passions of the King. A needless act of vanity and folly gave them just the material that they desired. It all arose over Surrey's coat-of-arms. We have already quoted the testimony given by Mistress Arundel before the city authorities in 1543 to the effect that Surrey's arms looked very like those of the King. It was of course very proper that they should, for the Howards had hereditary claim to the lions of England. Yet this similarity was not pleasant for those who regarded with apprehension the ambitions of the young Earl to contemplate. Now in 1545, prior to his departure for France, Surrey had had a long discussion with Christopher Barker, the Richmond Herald, as to his right to include the supposed arms of Edward the Confessor in his escutcheon.⁴⁶ As Barker reported the conversation, he had maintained that Surrey had no claim to these arms; on the other hand, in the course of his trial Surrey stated that the Heralds' College had given a favorable opinion.⁴⁷ Be that as it may, did Surrey actually have the right to quarter his arms with those of the Confessor? It is a nice point to determine. He based his claim upon a grant made to his ancestor, Thomas Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk, by Richard II.⁴⁸ Surrey of course had clear hereditary title to the arms of Mowbray, but whether he had the right to that particular quarter that contained the arms of the Confessor, depends upon whether Richard made the grant to Thomas Mowbray only, or to him and his heirs. This we do not know. Parliament finally decided the matter when, upon the release of the Duke of Norfolk at the accession of Mary, it passed an act stating that the Howard family had clear title to the debated quarter.

But Surrey's enemies were not concerned with such nice points, and when in October 1546, Surrey actually included the royal arms and the arms of the Confessor in an escutcheon which he had painted on his own apartments at Kenninghall, they saw their opportunity. They felt their fingers closing around the throat of this obnoxious young aristocrat, and Sir Richard Southwell, a

friend of boyhood days and an associate in the French campaign,⁴⁹ hurried to the Council to announce that Surrey had conspired against the King and was guilty of treason. According to Southwell, Surrey had placed the royal arms in the first quarter of his escutcheon and had also introduced into it the arms of the Confessor, modifying the last by a silver label, a significant modification for, since the label was used by the Prince to distinguish his arms from those of the King, Surrey's use of it was a plain intimation of his purpose to supplant the royal heir. To be sure Norfolk confessed at his trial that "I have without authority borne in the first and principal quarter of my arms, ever since the death of my father, the arms of England with a difference of three labels of silver, which are the proper arms of my Lord the Prince. I confess my crime no less than high treason."⁵⁰ Yet this abject testimony, given in an effort to save his life, is not to be taken too seriously and it is a question if he or Surrey ever did place the royal arms in any other position than the second quarter, where in sixteenth century heraldry they appear. But even had Southwell's statement been true, there would have been nothing unique in the procedure, for the Earl of Wiltshire bore them in the first quarter, and so did the Earl of Hertford, who was the most eager of all the conspirators.

But childish as the charges were, the Council gravely proceeded to summon Surrey before them to face his accuser. This was on the second of December. Surrey was dumbfounded when he heard himself accused of so grave a crime by an old friend, and, medieval knight that he was, never thought of defending himself in any other way, but passionately offered to throw off his garments and fight with Southwell, leaving it to Divine Justice to decide between them. It was a proposal that belonged to another age, but it was one that eloquently bespeaks the innocence of Surrey. The Council did not take kindly to such a conception of justice and assigned the two men to a place of detention until further evidence could be secured.

When it became noised abroad that Surrey was under suspicion, and that evidence against him was in order, all those who had been offended by his pride, or who envied him his position, or who feared his influence, came into the open, eager to testify against him. One was his cousin, Sir Edmund Knyvet.⁵¹ His contemptible spirit is shown by the character of his testimony; he alleged that Surrey had a predilection for foreigners, that he affected foreign dress, that he kept an Italian buffoon, that he had once taken into his employ a former servant of Cardinal Pole, and that he had concluded a quarrel with the significant words: "No, no, cousin Knyvet, I malice not so low; my malice is higher; my malice climbs higher." Such testimony was too childish to be taken seriously, but not so the testimony of Sir Gawain Carew who, wilfully misconstruing the ironical advice given the Duchess of Richmond by her brother on the occasion of her proposed marriage with Thomas Seymour, accused Surrey of having urged his sister to encourage the King to approach her with reference to such a marriage, that she might worm herself into the good graces of the King and gain the power of a mistress over him. This testimony was at least a commentary upon the popular conception of the King.

On the twelfth of December, the Council felt justified in liberating Southwell and in committing Surrey to the Tower. On the same day his father was committed as an accomplice.

In order to humiliate Surrey the more and to stir up the popular hue and cry against him, the Council compelled him to walk to the Tower. But they little knew the feeling of the populace toward the young nobleman, and their meanness proved to be a boomerang, for as he passed along the streets the people made "great lamentacion."⁵² To them he was the sturdy young nobleman who dared to use his fists as any self-respecting Englishman should, the dashing young knight who could thrill one in the tourney, the sturdy soldier who was first to set foot on the enemy's ramparts, the prince of good fellows who enjoyed London ale and a lark at night, the beau-ideal of a young aristocrat, handsome, distinguished in bearing, exacting in dress, brilliant in mind, one who showed what England could do by way of a man. All other public interests became as nothing compared to the commitment of these highest nobles of the realm. One gets some idea of the stir that it made and of the wild rumors abroad from the correspondence of the day. The letters of Low Churchmen show how jubilant they were at this blow struck at the staunchest upholders of the old regime. "The news from England is as agreeable as the above is distressing," writes John Burcher to Henry Bullinger, the Swiss Reformer, on December 31. "The Duke of Norfolk whose authority extended to the North of England—a most bitter enemy of the word of God—has been imprisoned, with his son, with whom he made a secret attempt to restore the Pope and the monks; but their design was discovered."⁵³

As for the official correspondence, a few days of confused rumor were followed by a deliberate attempt to determine sentiment abroad. The Council were especially solicitous that the Emperor, who would naturally question the arrest of such eminent Catholic sympathizers, should not be aroused, and they left no room for remonstrance. Under date of December 25, Van der Delft wrote to Charles V as follows: "There was a large assembly of Councillors, as they were occupied about the Duke of Norfolk and his son who are prisoners. Next day the Lord Chancellor sent word, by the writer's man, that Norfolk and his son had planned to obtain the government of the King, who was too old to allow himself to be governed, by murdering all the Council and assuming control of the Prince. Surrey, however, had not been under arrest in the Lord Chancellor's house for this, but for writing a threatening letter to a gentleman; two other gentlemen had come forward and charged them with conspiracy. Surrey, though he has always been so generous to his countrymen, is not beloved by them. The feeling against the father is less severe."⁵⁴ To make assurance doubly sure, the English ambassador at the Imperial court had been carefully instructed to educate the Emperor in the matter, and on December 26 he wrote that though he had not secured audience as yet, he had conferred with one of the chief secretaries and had detailed to him "the busy head of the father and the pride of the son."⁵⁵

On the same day that Norfolk and Surrey were placed in the Tower a commission of three, including Southwell, a brother or cousin of Carew, and one of the royal secretaries, left for Kenninghall to make any incriminating discoveries that they could. The frightened servants put everything at their disposal, but nothing of moment was found. However, they brought back with them Elizabeth Holland and the Duchess of Richmond. The testimony of the former had little bearing upon the conduct of the Earl, but the Duchess, who had clearly never forgiven Surrey for frustrating the plans for her marriage, gave much damaging testimony, which has all the earmarks of being inspired. She substantiated the accusation of Carew, averred that her brother was accustomed to speak of Hertford with the utmost bitterness, complained that he spoke threateningly of the protestants and discouraged her from reading much in the Scriptures, asserted that he had surmounted his arms with what "seemed to her like a close crown, and a cipher which she took to be the King's cipher, H. R." The arms of Surrey did actually include a crown, but it was the crown of the Stuarts, which, because of his great victory at Flodden Field, the first Duke of Norfolk had been permitted to include in his escutcheon. This the Duchess must have known, and it invalidated all of her charges.

After carefully weighing the testimony that had been submitted, the Council decided that the only charge that could be made to appear valid was that of treason, implied in the adoption of the arms of Edward the Confessor. The bill of indictment was as follows: "That whereas Parliament of 8 June to 18 July 28 Hen. VIII enacted that whosoever, by words, writings, printing, or other external act, maliciously shall procure anything to the peril of the King's person or give occasion whereby the King or his successors might be disturbed in their possession of the Crown, etc. (Stat. 28 Hen. VIII cap. 7, 12) shall be guilty of high treason; And whereas Henry VIII is true King of England, and Edward formerly King of England, commonly called Saynt Edward the Confessor, in right of the said realm of England, used certain arms and ensignes, viz., 'asur a crosse flewry betwene fyve merlettes golde,' belonging to the said King Edward and his progenitors in right of the Crown of England, which arms and ensignes are therefore appropriate to the King and to no other person; And whereas Edward now prince of England, the King's son, and heir apparent, bears, as heir apparent, the said arms and ensignes with three labels called 'thre labelles sylver'; Nevertheless, one Henry Howard, late of Kenningale, K. G., otherwise called Henry earl of Surry, on 7 Oct. 38 Hen. VIII, at Kenningale, in the house of Thomas Duke of Norfolk, his father, openly used, and traitorously caused to be depicted, mixed and conjoined with his own arms and ensignes, the said arms and ensignes of the King, with 'thre labelles sylver.'"⁵⁶ The absurdity of the charge is evident from the fact that after the time of Richard II, who had assumed the supposed arms of the Confessor because he had chosen St. Edward as his patron saint, no King of England had used these arms, and there is no evidence that Prince Edward did so. But the charge was one that appealed to the prejudices and jealousies of the dying King, and that could be made to carry with an obsequious jury.

From the Earl of Hertford to the last juryman, judges and jury were chosen with scrupulous care, and when Surrey came to his trial at the Guildhall on the thirteenth of January, he found himself face to face with a group of old-time enemies whose very presence betrayed what the verdict was to be.⁵⁷ It was characteristic of the Earl, such was his sense of personal dignity and of the fitness of things, to appear at the trial clad in a suit of sombre color, the cost of which was generously borne by the Lieutenant of the Tower. The trial began at nine o'clock in the morning and lasted until five in the afternoon. For a man to conduct his own defense for eight hours in the presence of a hostile judiciary and jury, confronted with evidence which he had been given no opportunity to consider in advance, for a man to do this and, in the eyes of an impartial witness, carry off the honors is evidence of sincerity, rare self-control, and thorough knowledge of the points involved. "Some things he flatly denied," says Stone in his *Chronicle*, "weakening the credits of his accusers by certain circumstances; others he excused with interpretations of his meanings to prove the same to be far otherwise than was alledged against him." His hauteur did not desert him even in this hour. When a certain witness told of an insolent reply that he had made in the course of a purported conversation with Surrey, the prisoner merely turned to the jury with superb dignity and said, "I leave it to you to judge whether it were probable that this man should speak thus to the Earl of Surrey, and he not strike him." On occasion, too, his contempt for some low-born politician would come to the surface, as when irritated by the questions of Paget, he abruptly punctured his vanity by alluding to him as a "happe-chair" and "the worthy son of a bailiff." Finally the farcical trial was brought to a close, and the prisoner was condemned to death for high treason.

In the shadow of death, Surrey turned once more to poetry for his comfort and his solace. That art which he had cultivated with such devotion in other days, days of sunshine or of cloud, was yet to be his stay. Through it his spirit was to soar above the trammels of fortune and to dwell in the realm of the ideal. Ostensibly he translated the first five chapters of Ecclesiastes and certain of the Psalms, but he allowed his mind to play about the thought of the original with the utmost freedom, and the poems breathe the social atmosphere of Tudor England. The chapters from Ecclesiastes lend themselves to that elegiac strain which has ever been so near the surface in the English temperament, and Surrey's adaptation of these chapters to the sentiments uppermost in his mind is a sixteenth century expression of that poignant sense of the illusion of boastful heraldry and of pomp and glory to which an eighteenth century elegist was to give supreme utterance. The vanity and cruelty of the struggle for wealth and position, the worth of lowly contentment, such are the recurring themes. They anticipate the words of another sixteenth century child of suffering, Thomas Dekker, in his beautiful lyric:

Art thou poor, yet hast thou golden slumbers?

O sweet content!

The poet was gaining that compassionate sense of kinship which expands the heart. More passionate and even more personal are the translations from the

Psalms. Of the three translated at this time—98, 73 and 55—, the 55th, though coming last in the manuscript, was doubtless written first. In lines tremulous with indignation and scorn, the poet, adapting to his own experience the experience of the Psalmist, laments that he should have been betrayed by a friend whom he had long trusted, and calls upon God, as the champion of the righteous, to

Rayne those unbrydled tungs, breake that coniured league.

This Psalm was probably written before the trial. Of very different temper are the other two Psalms, which are the lofty utterances of a spirit that was seeking to find its rest in God. In the 98th it is driven hither and yon by the whirling of the storm; in the 73rd it has found God and rests peacefully in him, far above the impotent cruelty of wicked men.

Most significant are the prologues of these two Psalms, one of which was addressed to George Blage, with whom Surrey had had the quarrel which precipitated his trial, and the other to Sir Antony Denny, one of the secretaries of the King, who must have had a hand in Surrey's downfall. Never more courageous than in the presence of death, Surrey would have his enemies understand that he no longer feared what man could do unto him.

The execution of Surrey took place just a week after the trial, on Tower hill.

How did he die? No record tells of his deportment on the scaffold, but he died as such a man only could die,—upheld by a noble indifference to his persecutors.

The tragedy of Surrey's death is accentuated by the fact that the life of his father, whose trial and conviction, because of his high rank, took the slower course of parliamentary procedure, was saved by the timely death of the King. Though Norfolk was condemned to die, the Protector and his party feared that if their first official act was the execution of the foremost nobleman in the realm, the storm of popular disapproval would be more than they could weather. Consequently Norfolk was merely imprisoned, to be released five years later by Mary. Had the belated death of Henry occurred a few days earlier, Surrey would probably have been accorded like treatment. With such caprice does Fortune seem to play with human life!

The apparel of Surrey was not given to the hangman, but divided among the hungry vultures that had taken his life, so much more greedy were English gentlemen of the sixteenth century than Roman gentlemen of the first. The Earl of Hertford and Sir Henry Seymour secured the greater part of the booty. In the garments that fell to the lot of Hertford figures a Parliament robe of purple velvet and a hat of crimson satin and velvet, with a white feather, perhaps the very hat that appears in the portrait of Surrey now at Hampton Court, done by Guillim Stretes shortly before the Earl's death.

Now draws the drama to its end. Let the closing scene be as follows: In the background friends removing the body of the dead Earl for its burial at All-Hallows-Barking; in the foreground greedy men dividing his garments. Then falls the curtain upon this tragedy of a life.

Surrey's Contribution to English Verse

Although Surrey died before he had reached his thirtieth birthday, he advanced the art of English poetry more than any other writer between Chaucer and Spenser. Wyatt, to be sure, did much interesting experimentation and left a body of verse of distinct excellence, verse that is still greatly undervalued. Wyatt tried his hand at the sonnet, the rondeau, the epigram, the terza rima, the rhyme royal, and a wide variety of graceful and fleet-footed metrical forms. His best verse is direct, forceful, sinuous, pithy, delightfully varied in tempo, and has the Gallic abandon and archful insouciance. He exerted, however, less influence upon the English tradition than did Surrey, and this for three reasons: first, because little of his best verse found its way into print in the sixteenth century; secondly, because the spirit of his verse is more French than English; and thirdly, because he did not have much part in certain fundamental reforms in prosody undertaken by Surrey, reforms that at once commended themselves and made Wyatt's verse by comparison appear archaic. English poetry is the poorer for not having taken more advantage of the intellectual liteness and saucy grace that Wyatt attempted to embody into it, but the set of the English genius is not that way.

Surrey's outstanding contribution to prosody was his insistence that metrical accent should be coincident with sentence stress and word accent, that is, that the metrical accent should fall upon the words which are naturally stressed because of their importance, and upon the accented, rather than upon the unaccented, syllables of such words. The prevailing disregard of this principle may be illustrated by the following sonnet, one of Wyatt's earlier compositions:

The lóng love thát in mý thought dóeth harbár,
And ín my hért doeth képe his résidence,
Ínto my fáce preséth with bólde preténce,
And théreín cámpeth spréding hís banér.
Shé that me lérneth tó love ánd suffré,
And wíllés that mý trust ánd lustes négligénce
Be ráyned by réason, sháme, and révérence,
With hís hardínes táketh dísplesúre.
Where with áll untó the hértés forrést he fléith,
Léving his énterprise with páyn and crý,
And thér him hídeth ánd not ápperéth.
Whát may I dó where mý maistéer feréth,
Bút in the féld with hím to lýve and dýe?
For goóde is thé líff énding fáithfullý.⁵⁸

It will be observed that the poet does not hesitate to throw the accent upon prepositions, conjunctions, pronouns and demonstratives; upon the final *eth*

of the old conjugation of verbs, as *preséth*, *apperéth*; upon the final syllable of dissyllabic nouns, as *harbár*, *forrést*; and a second accent upon the final syllable of trisyllabic nouns, as *négligénce*, *displeasúre*. In these practices, Wyatt was in line with his predecessors. By common consent it was recognized as legitimate to throw the accent upon the last syllable of verbs in *eth*, upon the *ing* of the participle, and upon the final syllable of nouns derived from the French. The last was probably regarded as giving a certain archaic grace and enjoyed the authority of Chaucer, who, however, was of course justified by the pronunciation of his day.

Surrey recognized that such liberties were opposed to the practice of the continental poets and he set about reforming English verse accordingly. In the main he was successful in observing the principle that the natural accent of words must be observed and that the important words should receive the accent. Violations are, to be sure, not altogether infrequent. Thus the accent occasionally falls on the weak syllable of a noun, as,

Whose moist poisón dissolved hath my hate.
The wylde forést, the clothed holtes with grene.
In my windów, where I may see.
Lurked, whose brestes envyé with hate had sowne.

All told, however, there are hardly more than a dozen such lines.⁵⁹ In a few rare instances, unless indeed the foot is to be regarded as a trochee thrust into the middle of a verse, the accent falls on the *ing* of a present participle, as in the lines,

Ffraughted with faith, a pacient pace, taking her wrong in worth.
In presence of the godes, passing before.

Rarely the accent falls on the *en* of a past participle:

The shippes shakén, vnfrindlie the season.

Occasionally the accent is thrown on the *eth* of the old present:

At length her self bordéth Aeneas thus.
And nouryshéth hys sacred flame.

Not infrequently and especially in translation, the accent rests on a conjunction, preposition, or article:

With sower, swete, dreade ánd delight.
seithe eke. Oft in her lappe she holds
Askanius, trapte bý his fathers fourme.

The next namede á pomegranate tree, whereby the truth was knowne.

In the great majority of cases, however, in which the accent appears to be thrown on such insignificant words, it will be found that the foot occurs just after the caesura, and is really a trochee, for the poet had evidently adopted the principle that a trochee could be used after the caesura with the same appropriateness as at the beginning of a verse. Thus:

The shádowe dánke gán from the póle remové.

As time has placed the stamp of its approval upon Surrey's reforms in accentuation, so also upon his continuance of certain traditional practices. Thus he permitted iambic verses to begin with initial trochees, in one sonnet beginning as many as six lines with this foot, he recognized the poetic quality in the older conjugation of verbs, and he frequently treated as a syllable the *ed* of the preterit and past participle, as *parch-ed*, *surprys-ed*, *dispoyl-ed*. He also recognized the monosyllabic foot, where the thought permits compensatory lengthening, as

Nów he comes; will he come? Alas, no, no!

Of certain prosodic traditions that Surrey accepted, time, to be sure, has not approved. Thus Surrey uses excessively the auxiliary verb *do*, as *doe holde*, *doe cease*, *doth bring*—a practice, to be sure, in which the Elizabethan lyrists followed him, and he occasionally resorts to such line fillers as *for to*, *I wis*, *right well*. In the main, however, Surrey so reformed English prosody that later poets have but refined upon his practices.

In the use of the caesura, or pause, Surrey shows a cultivated rhythmical sense. In iambic pentameter verse, he usually rests after the second foot, but this practice is not allowed to become mechanical, and is relieved by shifting the caesura back to the first foot and forward to the fourth. A favorite practice is to pause after the second foot, and then to make a secondary pause after the fourth. In the poulter's measure—a rhymed couplet consisting of a verse of six feet and a verse of seven—the caesura, as the genius of this verse demands, almost invariably occurs after the third foot of the first verse and the fourth foot of the second, but the jog-trot effect is modified by a frequent additional pause after the second foot of the second verse, as

For all thynges hauing life/sometime haue quiet rest,
The bering asse,/the drawing oxe,/and euery other beast.

In the shorter lines the caesura is not a problem, for in such verse the problem of pause becomes the problem of the run-over lines.

Surrey of course falls far short of the modern practice in the use of run-over lines. Although in one late sonnet (No. 91) there are five run-overs, Surrey employs the run-over but sparingly in verses of four or more feet in length,

but it must be remembered that the Elizabethans themselves usually observed the end-stop in the sonnets and that Shakespeare only discovered after much experimentation the possibilities of the run-over in blank verse. In the light-foot metres, on the other hand, Surrey uses the run-over constantly, after the manner of Wyatt and the French poets.

As to verse forms, Surrey's claims to distinction rest upon his establishment of the Shakespeare sonnet and his introduction of blank verse. After a variety of experiments, he settled upon the rhyme scheme *a b a b, c d c d, e f e f, g g*, for the sonnet, and thus cast the mold for the most popular Elizabethan form. In the thought divisions of the sonnet, he followed no fixed practice, employing various divisions, 8-6 (No. 8), 4-5-5 (Nos. 9 and 1), 4-8-2 (Nos. 40 and 45), with a preference, however, as in Shakespeare, for the division 4-4-4-2 (Nos. 4, 6, 44, 47, etc.)

Stimulated by an Italian version of the fourth book of the *Æneid* that appeared in 1534 and an Italian version of the first six books that appeared in 1540, Surrey translated into English the second and fourth books, chosen because of their greater dramatic value and superior literary quality, employing, like the Italians, blank verse as his medium. The translation is succinct, forceful and spirited, and the movement fairly rapid. Even to the modern ear, accustomed to the flexibility and music of Marlowe, Shakespeare and Milton, Surrey's blank verse is not unpleasant reading, and it is characterized by a certain severe dignity that gives it distinction. Approximately one fourth of the lines are run-overs, in which respect Surrey's work compares creditably with the earlier blank verse of the Elizabethans, and while the caesura occurs after the second foot in fifty per cent of the lines, and after the fourth foot in thirty, it is nevertheless shifted with some degree of freedom. For this one innovation of blank verse, English poetry owes Surrey a debt quite incalculable, though it is an open question to what extent he was responsible for the Elizabethan use of this measure.

Aside from the sonnet stanza and blank verse, Surrey experimented with a variety of metres. He showed a particular fondness for the poulter's measure, using it in several of his love poems and in his translations from the Psalms and Ecclesiastes. This choice was rather unfortunate, for it encouraged a whole group of succeeding rhymesters to fancy themselves poets, but Surrey secured as good effects as were possible with so sing-song a metre. In the translation of Psalm 55, he broke away from the measure and attempted a blank verse of iambic hexameters, a metre that gives one the peculiar effect of alternately sliding down between waves and sweeping along on the crest of them.

In common with Wyatt, Surrey appreciated the metrical adaptability of the *terza rima* to English verse and experimented with it variously, in one poem employing it in pentameter lines (No. 11), in another, in quatrainers (No. 32). As Surrey does not observe stanzaic divisions in these poems but allows the thought to flow as at will, Saintsbury has preferred to think of such verse as rather a

series of interlacing triple rhymes than as the terza rima proper. Be that as it may, the felicity of the terza rima in pentrametric verse is convincingly demonstrated. In the four foot verse this rhyme scheme has an almost impudent assertiveness, but that is the very effect that Surrey was aiming for in his fine satire on London. Genius alone could have chosen such a metrical vehicle for this inimitable mock herioc poem.

Again following the example of Wyatt, Surrey experimented with various stanzas of three and four foot lines: a four verse stanza of three foot lines, with the rhyme scheme a b a b (No. 12); a similar stanza of four foot lines (No. 14); a six verse stanza of four foot lines, with the rhyme scheme a b a b c c (Nos. 13, 18); an eight verse stanza of three foot lines, with the rhyme scheme a b a b c d c d (No. 16); a six verse stanza of four foot lines, with the rhyme scheme a b a b c c (No. 19); a six verse stanza of alternate four foot and three foot lines, with the rhyme scheme a b a c b c, a skillful and most pleasing metre (No. 20); and a seven verse stanza with lines of the following feet, 4 3 4 3 4 4 5, and the rhyme scheme a b a b a c c (No. 21). This stanza, with its longer final verse, is somewhat prophetic of the Spenserian stanza.

Throughout his poetry, from the early polite verse to the translation of the *Æneid*, Surrey persistently employs alliteration, showing how deeply rooted was this ancient English predilection. Ordinarily the effect is distinctly pleasing, but it is perhaps a question if he does not over employ alliteration at times, as in the poem, "The soote season, that bud and blome furth brings," which seems almost self-consciously alliterative.

Surrey's diction is direct, firm, and muscular, but flexible and euphonious. It employs just enough words of Latin and French origin to give richness and dignity to the homely, fibrous, native element. In the amatory and polite verse, approximately five and one half per cent of the words are of Latin or French derivation; in the translations from Ecclesiastes, seven per cent; in the translations from the Psalms, five per cent; and in the *Æneid*, a little over eight per cent.

Surrey was an admiring pupil of Chaucer, and he employs certain characteristically Chaucerian words, phrases, and constructions that give a mildly archaic flavor to his diction. Another distinctive quality making for quaintness is the tendency to use nouns and adjectives as verbs, as in the following:

But *mercy* him thy frende that doth thee serue.

The wynters hurt recovers with the *warm*.

The range of the poetry is fairly wide. It includes love poems, which for the most part are graceful experiments in polite verse, with only a slight adumbration, it would seem, of personal experience; autobiographical poems, definitely related to personal experience and delightfully intimate and frank; moral and didactic poems, in line with the current Renaissance revival of this Latin strain,

a strain most congenial to the English temperament; elegiac poems, personal, generous, and affectionate; translations from Ecclesiastes and the Psalms, freely rendered, and construed to English life and the poet's own peculiar experience, showing that sturdy capacity for adaptation which is always to be found in a vital literary epoch; and translations from the *Æneid* that are forceful, nervous, and plastic, that have the feel of Virgil and the feel of Tudor England as well.

Although Surrey lived a scant three decades, he left a substantial body of verse, and made a permanent impression upon English poetry. He discovered the prosodic genius of modern English, he defined modern poetical diction, and he introduced the metre in which much of the noblest poetry of our language has been cast.

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LOVE POEMS

1

A NOCTURNAL LAMENT

Alas! so all thinges nowe doe holde their peace:
Heauen and earth disturbed in nothing;
The beastes, the ayer, the birdes their song doe cease;
The nightes chare the starres aboute dothe bring.
Calme is the sea, the waues worke lesse and lesse; 5
So am not I, whom loue, alas! doth wring,
Bringing before my face the great encrease
Of my desires, whereat I wepe and syng,
In ioye and wo, as in a doubtful ease:
For my swete thoughtes sometyme doe pleasure bring, 10
But, by and by, the cause of my disease
Geues me a pang that inwardly dothe sting,
When that I thinke what grieve it is againe
To liue and lacke the thing should ridde my paine.

2

A SPRING LAMENT

The soote season, that bud and blome furth brings,
With grene hath clad the hill and eke the vale;
The nightingale with fethers new she singes;
The turtle to her make hath tolde her tale.
Somer is come, for euery spray nowe springes; 5
The hart hath hong his olde hed on the pale;
The buck in brake his winter cote he flings;
The fishes flote with newe repaired scale;
The adder all her sloughe awaye she slinges;
The swift swallow pursueth the flyes smale; 10
The busy bee her honye now she minges.
Winter is worne, that was the flowers bale.
And thus I see among these pleasant thinges
Eche care decays, and yet my sorow springes.

3

THE CRUELTY OF HIDDEN CHARMS

I neuer saw youe, madam, laye aparte
 Your cornet black, in colde nor yet in heate,
 Sythe first ye knew of my desire so greate,
 Which other fances chaced cleane from my harte.
 Whiles to my self I did the thought reserve 5
 That so vnware did wounde my wofull brest,
 Pytie I saw within your hart dyd rest;
 But since ye knew I did youe love and serve,
 Your golden treese was clad alway in blacke,
 Your smilyng lokes were hid thus euermore, 10
 All that withdrawne that I did crave so sore.
 So doth this cornet governe me, a lacke!
 In sommere, sonne; in winter, breath of frost;
 Of your faire eies whereby the light is lost.

4

A LOVERS LOYALTY TO LOVE

Love that doth raine and liue within my thought,
 And buylt his seat within my captyve brest,
 Clad in the armes wherein with me he fowght,
 Oft in my face he doth his banner rest.
 But she that tawght me love and suffre paine, 5
 My doubtful hope & eke my hote desire
 With shamfast looke to shadoo and refrayne,
 Her smyling grace convertyth streight to yre.
 And cowarde Love, then, to the hart apace
 Taketh his flight, where he doth lurke and playne 10
 His purpose lost, and dare not shew his face.
 For my lordes gilt thus fawtles byde I payne;
 Yet from my lorde shall not my foote remove:
 Sweet is the death that taketh end by love.

5

LOVES EXTREMES

In Cipres springes—wheras dame Venus dwelt—
 A welle so hote, that who so tastes the same,
 Were he of stone, as thawed yse shuld melt,
 And kindled fynde his brest with secret flame;
 Whose moist poison dissolved hath my hate. 5
 This creping fier my cold lymmes so oprest

That, in the hart that harbred fredom late,
 Endles dispaire long thraldom hath imprest.
 One, eke so cold, in froson snow is found,
 Whose chilling venume of repugnaunt kind 10
 The fervent heat doth quenche of Cupides wound,
 And with the spote of chaunge infectes the mynd;
 Where of my deer hath tasted to my payne.
 My service thus is growne into disdayne.

6

A LOVERS VOW

Set we wheras the sonne dothe perche the grene,
 Or whear his beames may not dissolue the ise,
 In temprat heat, wheare he is felt and sene;
 With prowde people, in presence sad and wyse;
 Set me in base, or yet in highe degree; 5
 In the long night, or in the shortyst day;
 In clere weather, or whear mysts thickest be;
 In lofte yowthe, or when my heares be grey;
 Set me in earthe, in heauen, or yet in hell;
 In hill, in dale, or in the fowming floode; 10
 Thrawle, or at large, aliuie whersoo I dwell;
 Sike, or in healthe; in yll fame, or in good;
 Yours will I be, and with that onely thought
 Comfort my self when that my hape is nowght.

7

THE FRAILTY OF BEAUTY

Brittle beautie, that nature made so fraile,
 Wherof the gift is small, and short the season,
 Flowring to-day, to morowe apt to faile,
 Tickell treasure abhorred of reason,
 Daungerous to dele with, vaine, of none auaile, 5
 Costly in keping, past not worthe two peason,
 Slipper in sliding as is an eles taile,
 Harde to attaine, once gotten not geason,
 Jewel of ieopardie that perill doth assaile,
 False and vntrue, enticed oft to treason, 10
 Enmy to youth: that most may I bewaile.
 Ah, bitter swete! infecting as the poyson,
 Thou farest as frute that with the frost is taken:
 To-day redy ripe, to morowe all to shaken.

8

A PLEA FOR CONSTANCY

The golden gift that nature did thee geue,
 To fasten frendes and fede them at thy wyll
 With fourme and fauour, taught me to beleue
 How thou art made to shew her greatest skill,
 Whose hidden vertues are not so vnknown 5
 But liuely domes might gather at the first:
 Where beautye so her perfect seede hath sown,
 Of other graces folow nedes there must.
 Now certesse, ladie, sins all this is true,
 That from aboue thy gyfts are thus elect, 10
 Do not deface them than with fansies newe,
 Nor chaunge of mindes let not thy minde infect,
 But mercy him thy frende that doth thee serue,
 Who seekes alway thine honour to preserue.

9

IN ABSENTIA

The fansy which that I haue serued long,
 That hath alway bene enemy to myne ease,
 Seemed of late to rue vpon my wrong
 And bad me flye the cause of my misease.
 And I forthwith dyd prease out of the throng, 5
 That thought by flight my painfull hart to please
 Som other way, tyll I saw faith more strong.
 And to my self I sayd: "Alas! those dayes
 In vayn were spent, to runne the race so long."
 And with that thought I met my guyde, that playn 10
 Out of the way wherin I wandred wrong
 Brought me amiddes the hylles in base Bullayn;
 Where I am now, as restlesse to remayn,
 Against my will, full pleased with my payn.

10

THE TWOFOLD POWER OF LOVE

Yf he that erst the fourme so lively drewe
 Of Venus faas, tryvmph in paynteres arte,
 Thy father then what glorye did ensew,
 By whose pencell a goddesse made thow arte!
 Touchid with flame, that figure made some rewe, 5
 And with her love surprysed manye a hart;
 There lackt yet that should cure their hoot desyer:
 Thow canst enflame and quenche the kyndled fyre.

11

A PLEA FOR MERCY

The sonne hath twyse brought forth the tender grene,
 And cladd the yerthe in livelye lustynes;
 Ones have the wyndes the trees dispoyled clene,
 And now agayne begynnes their cruelnes;
 Sins I have hidd vnder my brest the harme 5
 That never shall recover helthfulnes.
 The wynters hurt recovers with the warme;
 The perched grene restored is with shade;
 What warmth, alas! may sarve for to disarm
 The froosyn hart, that my inflame hath made? 10
 What colde agayne is hable to restore
 My freshe grene yeres, that wither thus & faade?
 Alas! I see nothinge to hurt so sore
 But tyme somtyme reduceth a retourne;
 Yet tyme my harme increseth more & more, 15
 And semes to have my cure allwayes in skorne.
 Straunge kynd of death, in lief that I doo trye:
 At hand to melt, farr of in flame to bourne,
 And like as time list to my cure aply;
 So doth eche place my comfort cleane refuse. 20
 Eche thing alive that sees the heaven with eye,
 With cloke of night maye cover and excuse
 Him self from travaile of the dayes vnrest,
 Save I, alas! against all others vse,
 That then sturre vpp the torment of my brest, 25
 To curse eche starr as cawser of my faat.
 And when the sonne hath eke the darke repress
 And brought the daie, yet doth nothing abaat
 The travaile of my endles smart & payne;
 Ffor then, as one that hath the light in haat, 30
 I wishe for night, more covertlye to playne,
 And me withdrawe from everie haunted place,
 Lest in my chere my chaunce should pere to playne;
 And with my mynd I measure, paas by paas,
 To seke that place where I my self hadd lost, 35
 That daye that I was tangled in that laase,
 In seming slacke that knytteth ever most.
 But never yet the trayvaile of my thought
 Of better state could catche a cawse to bost,
 For yf I fynde, somtyme that I have sought, 40
 Those starres by whome I trusted of the port,
 My sayles do fall, and I advaunce right nought;

As anchor'd fast, my sprites do all resort
 To stand atgaas, and sinke in more & more:
 The deadlye harme which she dooth take in sport. 45
 Loo! yf I seke, how I do fynd my sore!
 And yf I flye, I carrey with me still
 The venymd shaft which dothe his force restore
 By hast of flight. And I maye playne my fill
 Vnto my self, oneles this carefull song 50
 Prynt in your hert some percell of my will;
 For I, alas! in sylence all to long,
 Of myne old hurt yet fele the wound but grene.
 Rue on me lief, or elles your crewell wrong
 Shall well appeare, and by my deth be sene. 55

12

A GAME OF CHESS

Although I had a check,
 To geue the mate is hard,
 For I haue found a neck
 To kepe my men in gard.
 And you that hardy ar 5
 To geue so great assay
 Vnto a man of warre—
 To driue his men away—,

I rede you take good hede
 And marke this foolish verse, 10
 For I will so prouide
 That I will haue your ferse.
 And when your ferse is had
 And all your warre is done,
 Then shall your selfe be glad 15
 To ende that you begon.

For yf by chance I winne
 Your person in the feeld,
 To late then come you in
 Your selfe to me to yeld. 20
 For I will vse my power,
 As captain full of might,
 And such I will deuour
 As vse to shew me spight.

And for because you gaue 25
 Me checke in such degre,
 This vantage loe I haue;
 Now checke, and garde to the.
 Defend it, if thou may;
 Stand stiffe in thine estate; 30
 For sure I will assay,
 If I can giue the mate.

13

A GOODLY ENSAMPLE

When ragyng loue, with extreme payne,
 Most cruelly distrains my hart;
 When that my teares, as floudes of rayne,
 Beare witnes of my wofull smart;
 When sighes haue wasted so my breath 5
 That I lye at the poynte of death;

I call to minde the nauye greate
 That the Greekes brought to Troye towne,
 And how the boysteous windes did beate
 Their shyps, and rente their sayles adowne, 10
 Till Agamemnons daughters blood
 Appeasde the goddes that them withstode.
 And how that, in those ten years warre,

Full many a bloudye dede was done;
 And many a lord, that came full farre, 15
 There caught his bane, alas! to sone;
 And many a good knight ouerronne;
 Before the Grekes had Helene wonne.

Then thinke I thus: sithe suche repayre,
 So longe time warre of valiant men, 20
 Was all to winne a ladye fayre,
 Shall I not learne to suffer then,
 And thinke my life well spent, to be
 Seruyng a worthier wight than she?

Therefore I neuer will repent, 25
 But paynes, contented, stil endure:
 For like as when, rough winter spent,
 The pleasant spring straight draweth in vre,
 So after ragyng stormes of care,
 Joyful at length may be my fare. 30

14

THE TRAMMELS OF LOVE

As oft as I behold and see
 The soveraigne bewtie that me bound,
 The ner my comfort is to me,
 Alas! the fressher is my wound.

As flame dothe quenche by rage of fier, 5
 And roounyng streames consumes by raine,
 So doth the sight that I desire
 Apeace my grief and deadly payne.

Like as the flee that seethe the flame
 And thinkes to plaie her in the fier, 10
 That fownd her woe, and sowght her game,
 Whose grief did growe by her desire.

When first I saw theise christall streames
 Whose bewtie made this mortall wound,
 I litle thought with in these beames 15
 So sweete a venvme to have found.

Wherein is hid the crewell bytt
 Whose sharpe repulse none can resist,
 And eake the spoore that straynith eche wytt
 To roon the race against his list. 20

But wilful will did prick me forth;
 Blynd Cupide dyd me whipp & guyde;
 Force made me take my grief in worthe;
 My fruytles hope my harme did hide.

As cruell waues full oft be found 25
 Against the rockes to rore and cry,
 So doth my hart full oft rebound
 Ageinst my brest full bitterly.

I fall and see my none decaye,
 As he that beares flame in his brest 30
 Fforgetes, for payne, to cast awaye
 The thing that breadythe his vnrest.

And as the spyder drawes her lyne,
 With labour lost I frame my sewt;
 The fault is hers, the losse ys myne. 35
 Of yll sown seed such ys the frewte.

15

A LESSON IN LOVE

When youthe had ledd me half the race
That Cupides scourge did make me rune,
I loked backe to mete the place
Ffrom whence my werye course begune.

And then I sawe how my desyre, 5
By ill gydyng, had let my waye;
Whose eyes, to greedye of their hire,
Had lost me manye a noble praye.

Ffor when in sighes I spent the daye, 10
And could not clooke my grief by game,
Their boyling smoke did still bewraye
The fervent rage of hidden flame.

And when salt teares did bayne my brest,
Where love his pleasaunt traynes had sowne,
The brewt therof my frewt opprest, 15
Or that the bloomes were sprunge & blowne.

And where myne eyes did still pursewe
The flying chace that was their quest,
Their gredye lookes did oft renewe
The hydden wounde within my brest. 20

When everye looke these cheekes might stayne,
From dedlye pale to flaming redd,
By owtward signes apperyd playne
The woo wherwith my hart was fedd.

But all to late love learneth me 25
To paynt all kynd of coloures newe,
To blynde their eyes that elles should see
My sparkled chekes with Cupydes hewe.

And now the covert brest I clayme 30
That worshipps Cupyd secretlye,
And nourysheth hys sacred flame
Ffrom whence no blasing sparckes do flye.

16

RUEFUL ASSOCIATIONS

- O lothsome place! where I
 Haue sene and herd my dere,
 When in my hert her eye
 Hath made her thought appere,
 By glimsing with such grace 5
 As fortune it ne would
 That lasten any space
 Betwene vs lenger should.
- As fortune did auance
 To further my desire, 10
 Euen so hath fortunes chance
 Thrownen all ammiddes the myre;
 And that I haue deserued
 With true and faithful hart,
 Is to his handes reserued 15
 That neuer felt the smart.
- But happy is that man
 That scaped hath the grieve
 That loue well teche him can,
 By wanting his reliefe. 20
 A scourge to quiet mindes
 It is, who taketh hede,
 A comon plage that bindes,
 A trauell without mede.
- This gift it hath also, 25
 Who so enioies it most
 A thousand troubles grow
 To vexe his weried ghost.
 And last it may not long—
 The truest thing of all—, 30
 And sure the greatest wrong
 That is within this thrall.
- But sins thou, desert place,
 Canst giue me no accompt
 Of my desired grace 35
 That I to haue was wont,
 Farewel! thou hast me tought
 To thinke me not the furst
 That loue hath set aloft
 And casten in the dust. 40

17

AN UNCHANGING LOVER

Though I regarded not
 The promise made to me,
 Or passed not to spot
 My faith and honeste,
 Yet were my fancie strange 5
 And wilfull will to wite,
 If I sought now to change
 A falkon for a kite.

All men might well dispraise
 My wit and enterprise, 10
 If I esteemed a pese
 Aboue a perle in price,
 Or iudged the oule in sight
 The sparehauke to excell,
 Which flieth but in the night, 15
 As all men know right well.

Or, if I sought to saile
 Into the brittle port
 Where anker hold doth faile,
 To such as doe resort, 20
 And leaue the hauen sure
 Where blowes no blustering winde,
 Nor fickelnesse in vre,
 So far forth as I finde.

No, thinke me not so light 25
 Nor of so chorlish kinde,
 Though it lay in my might
 My bondage to vnbinde,
 That I would leue the hinde
 To hunt the ganders fo. 30
 No, no! I haue no minde
 To make exchanges so,

Nor yet to change at all.
 For thinke it may not be
 That I should seke to fall 35
 From my felicitie,
 Desyrous for to win,
 And loth for to forgo,
 Or new change to begin.
 How may all this be so? 40

The fire it can not freze,
 For it is not his kinde,
 Nor true loue cannot lese
 The constance of the minde;
 Yet, as sone shall the fire 45
 Want heat to blaze and burn,
 As I in such desire
 Haue once a thought to turne.

18

A MISTRESS NONPAREIL

Geue place, ye louers, here before
 That spent your bostes and bragges in vaine;
 My ladies beawtie passeth more
 The best of yours, I dare well sayen,
 Than doth the sonne, the candle light, 5
 Or brightest day, the darkest night.

And thereto hath a trothe as iust
 As had Penelope the fayre,
 For what she saith, ye may it trust
 As it by writing sealed were, 10
 And vertues hath she many moe
 Than I with pen haue skill to showe.

I could rehearse, if that I wolde,
 The whole effect of Natures plaint
 When she had lost the perfit mold, 15
 The like to whom she could not paint;
 With wringynge handes howe she dyd cry,
 And what she said, I know it, I.

I knowe she swore with ragyng mynd,
 Her kingdom onely set apart, 20
 There was no losse, by loue of kind,
 That could haue gone so nere her hart.
 And this was chiefly all her payne,
 She coulde not make the lyke agayne.

Sith Nature thus gaue her the prayse 25
 To be the chieftest worke she wrought,
 In faith, me thinke some better waies
 On your behalfe might well be sought,
 Then to compare, as ye haue done,
 To matche the candle with the sonne. 30

19

FROM A LOYAL, LOVER OVERSEAS

Syns fortunes wrath enuieth the welth
 Wherein I raygned, by the sight
 Of that, that fed mine eyes by stelth
 With sower, swete, dreade, and delight,
 Let not my grieve moue you to mone,
 For I will wepe and wayle alone. 5

Spite draue me into Borias raigne,
 Where hory frostes the frutes do bite,
 When hilles were spred and euery playne
 With stormy winters mantle white;
 And yet, my deare, such was my heate,
 When others frese then did I swete. 10

And now, though on the sunne I driue,
 Whose feruent flame all thinges decaies,
 His beames in brightnesse may not striue
 With light of your swete golden rayes,
 Nor from my brest this heate remoue
 The frozen thoughtes grauen by loue. 15

Ne may the waues of the salt floode
 Quenche that your beauty set on fire,
 For though mine eyes forbere the fode
 That did releue the hot desire,
 Such as I was, such will I be,—
 Your owne. What would ye more of me! 20

20

A MODERN ULYSSES

I that Vlysses yeres haue spent
 To seeke Penelope,
 Finde well what folly I haue ment
 To seke that was not so,
 Sinse Troylous case hath caused me
 From Cressed for to go. 5

And to bewaile Vlysses truth
 In seas and stormy skies
 Of wanton will and raging youth,
 Wherewith I have tossed sore 10
 From Cillas seas to Carribes clives
 Vpon the drowning shore.

Where I sought hauen, there found I hap,
 From daunger vnto death,
 Much like the mouse that treades the trap 15
 In hope to finde her foode,
 And bites the bread that stops her breath;
 So in like case I stoode.

Till now repentance hasteth him
 To further me so fast 20
 That where I sanke, there now I swim,
 And haue both streame and winde,
 And lucke as good, if it may last,
 As any man may finde.

That where I perished, safe I passe, 25
 And find no perill there,
 But stedy stone, no ground of glasse.
 Now am I sure to saue,
 And not to flete from feare to feare,
 Such anker hold I haue. 30

21

A LADYS LAMENT FOR HER LOVER OVERSEAS

O happy dames, that may embrace
 The frute of your delight,
 Help to bewaile the wofull case
 And eke the heauy plight 5
 Of me, that wanted to reioyce
 The fortune of my pleasant choyce.
 Good ladies, help to fill my moorning voyce,

In ship, freight with remembrance
 Of thoughts and pleasures past,
 He sailes that hath in gouernance 10
 My life, while it wil last;

With scalding sighes, for lack of gale,
Furdering his hope, that is his sail,
Toward me, the swete port of his auail.

Alas! how oft in dreames I se 15
Those eyes, that were my food,
Which sometime so delited me
That yet they do me good;
Wherwith I wake with his returne,
Whose absent flame did make me burne. 20
But when I finde the lacke, Lord how I mourne!

When other louers, in armes acrossse.
Reioyce their chiefe delight,
Drowned in tears, to mourne my losse,
I stand the bitter night 25
In my window, where I may see
Before the windes how the cloudes flee.
Lo, what a mariner loue hath made me!

And in grene waues, when the salt flood
Doth rise by rage of winde, 30
A thousand fansies in that mood
Assayle my restlesse mind.
Alas! now drencheth my swete fo,
That with the spoyle of my hart did go,
And left me; but, alas, why did he so! 35

And when the seas waxe calme againe,
To chase fro me annoye,
My doubtfull hope doth cause me plaine;
So dreade cuts of my ioye.
Thus is my wealth mingled with wo, 40
And of ech thought a dout doth growe:
Now he comes; will he come? alas, no, no!

22

A SOPHISTICATED LOVER

Suche waywarde wais hath love, that moste parte in discorde
Our willes do stand, wherby our hartes but seldom dooth accorde.

Disceyte is his delight, and to begyle and mocke
The symple hertes which he doth stryke with froward, dyvers stroke.

He cawseth hertes to rage with golden burninge darte, 5
And doth alaye with ledden cold agayne the tothers harte.

Hot gleams of burning fyre, & easye sparkes of flame,
 In balaunce of vnegall weight he pondereth by ame.
 Ffrom easye fourde, where I might wade & passe full well,
 He me withdrawes; and doth me drive into the darke, diep well; 10
 And me withholdes where I am cald and offerd place;
 And wooll that still my mortall foo I do beseche of grace.
 He lettes me to pursue a conquest well nere woon,
 To follow where my paynes wer spilt or that my sute begune.
 Lo! by these rules I know how sone a hart can turne 15
 From warr to peace, from trewce to stryf, and so again returne.
 I knowe how to convert my will in others lust;
 Of litle stuff vnto my self to weyve a webb of trust;
 And how to hide my harme with soft dissembled chere,
 When in my face the paynted thoughtes wolde owtwardlye appere. 20
 I know how that the blood forsakes the faas for dredd,
 And how by shame it staynes agayne the cheke with flaming redd.
 I knowe vnder the grene, the serpent how he lurckes;
 The hamer of the restles forge, I know eke how yt workes.
 I know, and can be roote, the tale that I wold tell, 25
 But ofte the wordes come forth a wrye of hym that loveth well.
 I know in heat and cold the lover how he shakes,
 In singinge how he can complayne, in sleaping how he wakes,
 To languishe without ache, sickles for to consume,
 A thousand thinges for to devyse resolving all hys fume. 30
 And thoughe he lyke to see his ladies face full sore,
 Suche pleasure as delightes his eye doth not his health restore.
 I know to seke the tracke of my desyred foo,
 And feare to fynd that I do seke; but chefelye this I know,
 That lovers must transforme into the thing beloved, 35
 And live—alas, who colde beleve!—with spryte from lief removed.
 I know in hartye sighes and lawghters of the splene
 At ones to chaunge my state, my will, & eke my colour clene.
 I know how to disceyve myself withouten helpp;
 And how the lyon chastysed is by beating of the whelpp. 40
 In standing nere my fyre, I know how that I frese;
 Ffarr of, to burn; in both to wast, & so my lief to lese.
 I know how love doth rage vppon the yeldon mynd,
 How small a nett may take & mashe a harte of gentle kynd;
 Which seldome tasted swete, to seasoned heaps of gall, 45
 Revyved with a glyns of grace olde sorowes to let fall.
 The hidden traynes I know, & secret snares of love;
 How sone a loke may prynt a thought that never will remoue.
 That slipper state I know, those sodayne tournes from welthe,
 That doutfull hope, that certayne woo, & sure dispaire of helthe. 50

23

STRIVE NOT WITH LOVE

When sommer toke in hand the winter to assail
 With force of might and vertue gret, his stormy blasts to quail,
 And when he clothed faire the earth about with grene,
 And euery tree new garmented, that pleasure was to sene,
 Mine hart gan new reuiue, and changed blood dyd stur 5
 Me to withdraw my winter woe, that kept within the dore.
 Abrode, quod my desire, assay to set thy fote,
 Where thou shalt finde the sauour sweete, for sprong is euery rote;
 And to thy health, if thou were sick in any case, 10
 Nothing more good than in the spring the aire to fele a space.
 There shalt thou here and se all kindes of birdes ywrought,
 Well tune their voice with warble smal, as nature hath them tought.
 Thus pricked me my lust the sluggish house to leaue,
 And for my health I thought it best suche counsail to receaue.
 So on a morow furth, vnwist of any wight, 15
 I went to proue how well it would my heauy burden light.
 And when I felt the aire so pleasant round about,
 Lorde, to my self how glad I was that I had gotten out.
 There might I se how Ver had euery blossom hent,
 And eke the new betrothed birdes ycoupled how they went. 20
 And in their songes me thought they thanked nature much
 That by her lycence all that yere to loue—their happe was such—
 Right as they could deuise to chose them feres throughout;
 With much reioysing to their Lord thus flew they all about.
 Which when I gan resolute, and in my head conceaue, 25
 What pleasant life, what heapes of ioy, these little birdes receue,
 And sawe in what estate I, very man, was brought
 By want of that they had at will, and I reiect at nought,
 Lorde, how I gan in wrath vnwisely me demeane.
 I curssed loue, and him defied; I thought to turne the streame. 30
 But whan I well behelde he had me vnder awe,
 I asked mercie for my fault that so transgrest his law.
 "Thou blinded god," quoth I, "forgeue me this offense;
 Vnwillingly I went about to malice thy pretense."
 Wherewith he gaue a beck, and thus me thought he swore: 35
 "Thy sorow ought suffice to purge thy faulte, if it were more."
 The vertue of which sounde mine hart did so reuiue
 That I, me thought, was made as hole as any man aliuie.
 But here ye may perceiue mine errour, all and some,
 For that I thought that so it was, yet was it still vndone; 40
 And all that was no more but mine empressed mynde,
 That fayne woulde haue some good relese of Cupide wel assinde.

I turned home forthwith, and might perceiue it well,
That he agreued was right sore with me for my rebell.

My harmes haue euer since increased more and more,
And I remaine, without his help, vndone for euer more.

A miror let me be vnto ye louers all:
Striue not with loue, for if ye do, it will ye thus befall.

45

24

A STRICKEN SHEPHERD

In winters iust returne, when Boreas gan his raigne,
And euery tree vnclouted fast, as nature taught them plaine,

In misty morning darke, as sheepe are then in holde,
I hyed me fast, it sat me on, my sheepe for to vnfolde.

And as it is a thing that louers haue by fittes,
Vnder a palm I heard one crye as he had lost hys wittes.

Whose voice did ring so shrill, in vttering of his plaint,
That I amazed was to hear how loue could hym attaint.

"Ah wretched man," quod he, "come death, and ridde thys wo;
A just reward, a happy end, if it may chaunce thee so.

Thy pleasures past haue wrought thy wo, withoute redresse;
If thou hadst neuer felt no ioy, thy smart had bene the lesse."

And retchlesse of his life, he gan both sighe and grone;
A rufull thing me thought it was to hear him make such mone.

"Thou cursed pen," sayd he, "wo worth the bird thee bare;
The man, the knife, and all that made thee, wo be to their share.

Wo worth the time, and place, where I so could endite,
And wo be it yet once agayne, the pen that so can write.

Vnhappy hand, it had ben happy time for me
If, when to write thou learned first, vnioynted hadst thou be."

Thus cursed he himself, and euery other wight,
Saue her alone whom loue him bound to serue both day and night.

Which when I heard, and saw, how he himselfe fordid,
Against the ground, with bloudy strokes, himselfe euen there to rid,

Had ben my heart of flint, it must haue melted tho,
For in my life I neuer saw a man so full of wo.

With teares, for his redresse, I rashly to him ran
And in my arms I caught him fast, and thus I spake hym than:

"What wofull wight art thou, that in such heauy case
Tormentes thy selfe with such despite, here in this desert place?"

Wherewith, as all agast, fulfilled wyth ire and dred,
He cast on me a staring loke, with colour pale and ded.

5

10

15

20

25

30

"Nay, what art thou," quod he, "that in this heauy plight
Doest finde me here, most wofull wretch, that life hath in despight?"

"I am," quoth I, "but pore, and simple in degre;
A shepardes charge I haue in hand, vnworthy though I be." 35

With that he gaue a sighe, as though the skye should fall,
And lowd, alas! he shryked oft, and "Shepard," gan he call,
"Come, hie the fast at ones, and print it in thy hart;
So thou shalt know, and I shall tell the, giltlesse how I smart." 40

His backe against the tree, sore febled all with faint,
With weary sprite hee stretched him vp, and thus hee told his plaint.

"Ones in my hart," quoth he, "it chanced me to loue
Such one, in whom hath nature wrought her cunning for to proue.
And sure I can not say, but many yeres were spent 45
With such good will so recompenst, as both we were content.

Whereto then I me bound, and she likewise also,
The sonne should runne his course awry, ere we this faith forgo.

Who ioied then, but I? who had this worldes blisse?
Who might compare a life to mine, that neuer thought on this? 50

But dwelling in thys truth, amid my greatest ioy,
Is me befallen a greater loss than Priam had of Troy:

She is reuersed clene, and beareth me in hand,
That my desertes haue giuen her cause to break thys faithful band.
And for my iust excuse auailleth no defense. 55

Now knowest thou all; I can no more. But, shepard, hye the hense,
And giue him leaue to die that may no lenger liue.

Whose record, lo, I claime to haue, my death, I doe forgiue.
And eke, when I am gone, be bolde to speake it plain:
Thou hast seen dye the truest man that euer loue did pain." 60

Wherewith he turned him round, and gasping oft for breath,
Into his armes a tree he raught, and sayd, "Welcome my death:

Welcome a thousand fold, now dearer vnto me
Than should, without her loue to liue, an emperour to be."
Thus, in this wofull state, he yelded vp the ghost, 65

And little knoweth his lady, what a louer she hath lost.

Whose death when I beheld, no maruail was it, right
For pitie though my heart did blede, to see so piteous sight.

My blood from heat to colde oft changed wonders sore;
A thousand troubles there I found I neuer knew before. 70

Twene dread and dolour, so my sprites were brought in feare,
That long it was ere I could call to minde what I did there.

But, as eche thing hath end, so had these paynes of mine:
The furies past, and I my wits restored by length of time.

Then, as I could deuise, to seke I thought it best 75
Where I might finde some worthy place for such a corse to rest.

And in my mind it came, from thence not farre away,
Where Chreseids loue, king Priams sonne, ye worthy Troilus lay.

By him I made his tomb, in token he was trew,
And, as to him belonged well, I couered it with bleew.

80

Whose soule, by angles power, departed not so sone
But to the heauens, lo, it fled, for to receiue his dome.

25

A FRIENDLY WARNING

To dearly had I bought my grene and youthfull yeres,
If in mine age I could not finde when craft for loue apperes;
And seldom though I come in court among the rest,
Yet can I iudge in colours dim as depe as can the best.

Where grefe tormentes the man that suffreth secret smart,
To breke it forth vnto som frend it easeth well the hart.

5

So standes it now with me for my beloued frend.
This case is thine for whom I fele such torment of my minde,
And for thy sake I burne so in my secret brest
That till thou know my hole disseyse my hart can haue no rest.

10

I se how thine abuse hath wrested so thy wittes
That all it yeldes to thy desire, and folowes the by fittes.

Where thou hast loued so long with hart and all thy power,
I se thee fed with fayned wordes, thy freedom to deuour.

I know—though she say nay, and would it well withstand—
When in her grace thou held the most, she bare the but in hand.

15

I see her pleasant chere in chiefest of thy suite;
Whan thou art gone, I se him come that gathers vp the fruite.

And eke in thy respect I se the base degre
Of him to whom she gaue the hart that promised was to the.

20

I se—what would you more—stode neuer man so sure
On womans word, but wisdom would mistrust it to endure.

26

THE FICKLENESS OF WOMAN

Wrapt in my carelesse cloke, as I walke to and fro,
I se how loue can shew what force there reigneth in his bow;

And how he shoteth eke, a hardy hart to wound;
And where he glanceth by agayne, that litle hurt is found.

For seldom is it sene he woundeth hartes alike: 5
 The tone may rage, when tothers loue is often farre to seke.
 All this I se, with more, and wonder thinketh me
 Howe he can strike the one so sore, and leaue the other fre.
 I se that wounded wight, that suffreth all this wrong,
 How he is fed with yeas and naves, and liueth all to long. 10
 In silence though I kepe such secretes to my self,
 Yet do I se how she sometime doth yeld a loke by stelth,
 As though it seemed, ywys, I will not lose the so,—
 When in her hart so swete a thought did neuer truly grow.
 Then say I thus: alas, that man is farre from blisse 15
 That doth receiue for his relief none other gayn but this.
 And she, that fedes him so,—I fele, and finde it plain—
 Is but to glory in her power, that ouer such can reign.
 Nor are such graces spent but when she thinkes that he,
 A weried man, is fully bent such fansies to let flie; 20
 Then to retain him stil she wrasteth new her grace,
 And smileth, lo, as though she would forthwith the man embrace.
 But when the prooffe is made to try such lokes withall,
 He findeth then the place all voyde, and fraighted full of gall.
 Lord, what abuse is this! who can such women praise, 25
 That for their glory do deuise to vse such crafty wayes!
 I, that among the rest do sit, and mark the row,
 Fynde that in her is greater craft then is in twenty mo.
 Whose tender yeres, alas! with wyles so well are spedde,
 What will she do when hory heares are powdred in her hedde! 30

27

MODERN SAWS AND ANCIENT INSTANCE

Gyrтт in my ~~glitlesse~~ ^{giltlesse} gowne, as I sytt heare and sowe,
 I see that thinges are not in dead as to the owtward showe.
 And who so lyst to looke and note thinges somewhat neare,
 Shal fynde, wheare playnnesse seemes to haunte, nothing but craft appeare. 5
 For with indifferent eyes my self can well discearne
 How som, to guyd a shyppe in stormes, stycke not to take the stearne;
 Whose skill and conninge tryed in calme to steare a bardge,
 They wolde sone shaw, yow shold sone see, it weare to great a chardge.
 And some I see agayne sytt still and say but small
 That can do ten tymes more than they that say they can do all. 10
 Whose goodlye gyftes are suche, the more they vnderstand,
 The more they seeke to learne and know and take lesse chardge in hand.

And, to declare more playne, the tyme flyttes not so fast
 But I can beare right well in mynd the song now sung and past.
 The auctour whearof cam, wrapt in a craftye cloke, 15
 In will to force a flamying fyre wheare he could rayse no smoke.
 If powre and will had mett, as it appeareth playne,
 The truth nor right had tane no place, their vertues had bene vayne.
 So that you may perceave and I may saflye see,
 The innocent that giltlesse is, condempned sholde have be. 20
 Muche lyke untruth to this the story doth declare,
 Wheare the elders layd to Susans chardge meete matter to compare.
 They did her both accuse and eke condempne her to,
 And yet no reason, right, nor truthe, did lead them so to do.
 And she thus judged to dye, toward her death went forthe 25
 Ffraughted with faith, a pacient pace, taking her wrong in worthe.
 But he, that dothe defend all those that in hym trust,
 Did raise a childe for her defence, to shyeld her from the unjust.
 And Danyell chosen was then of this wrong to weete
 How, in what place, and eke with whome, she did this cryme commytt. 30
 He cawsed the elders part the one from the others sight,
 And did examyne one by one and chardged them bothe say right.
 Vndra molberye trye it was, fyrst sayd the one;
 The next namede a pomegranate trye; whereby the truth was knowne.
 Than Susan was discharged and they condempned to dye, 35
 As right requeres and they deserve that framede so fowll a lye.
 And he, that her preserved and lett them of their lust,
 Hath me defendyd hetherto, and will do still I trust.

28

CALM AFTER STORM

If care do cause men cry, why do not I complaine?
 If eche man do bewaile his wo, why shew I not my paine?
 Since that amongst them all, I dare well say, is none
 So farre from weale, so full of wo, or hath more cause to mone.
 For all thynges hauing life sometime haue quiet rest, 5
 The bering asse, the drawing oxe, and euery other beast.
 The peasant and the post, that serue at al assayes,
 The shyp boy and the galley slaue, haue time to take their ease,
 Saue I, alas! whom care of force doth so constraine
 To waile the day and wake the night continually in paine, 10
 From pensiuenes to plaint, from plaint to bitter teares,
 From teares to painfull plaint againe; and thus my life it wears.
 No thing vnder the sunne that I can here or se,
 But moueth me for to bewaile my cruell destenie.

For wher men do reioyce, since that I can not so, 15
 I take no pleasure in that place, it doubleth but my woe.
 And when I heare the sound of song or instrument,
 Me thinke eche tune there dolefull is and helpes me to lament.
 And if I se some haue their most desired sight,
 Alas! think I, eche man hath weal saue I, most wofull wight. 20
 Then, as the stricken dere withdrawes him selfe alone,
 So do I seke some secrete place where I may make my mone.
 There do my flowing eyes shew forth my melting hart,
 So yat the stremes of those two welles right wel declare my smart.
 And in those cares so colde I force my selfe a heate, 25
 As sick men in their shaking fittes procure them self to sweate;
 With thoughtes that for the time do much appease my paine.
 But yet they cause a ferther fere and brede my woe agayne:
 Me thinke within my thought I se right plaine appere,
 My hartes delight, my sorowes leche, mine earthly goddesse here, 30
 With euery sondry grace that I haue sene her haue;
 Thus I within my wofull brest her picture paint and graue.
 And in my thought I roll her bewties to and fro,
 Her laughing chere, her louely looke, my hart that perced so;
 Her strangenes when I sued her seruant for to be; 35
 And what she sayd, and how she smiled, when that she pitied me.
 Then comes a sodaine feare that riuet all my rest
 Lest absence cause forgetfulness to sink within her brest.
 For when I thinke how far this earth doth vs deuide,
 Alas! me semes loue throwes me downe; I fele how that I slide. 40
 But then, I thinke againe, why should I thus mistrust
 So swete a wight, so sad and wise, that is so true and iust;
 For loth she was to loue, and wauering is she not.
 The farther of, the more desirde; thus louers tie their knot.
 So in dispaire and hope plunged am I both vp an doune, 45
 As is the ship with wind and waue when Neptune list to froune.
 But as the watry showers delaye the raging winde,
 So doth good hope clene put away dispayre out of my minde,
 And biddes me for to serue and suffer pacientlie,
 For what, wot I, the after weale that fortune willes to me. 50
 For those that care do knowe and tasted haue of trouble,
 When passed is their woful paine, eche ioy shall seme them double;
 And bitter sendes she now, to make me tast the better
 The plesant swete, when that it comes, to make it seme the sweter.
 And so determine I to serue vntill my brethe; 55
 Ye, rather dye a thousand times then once to false my feithe.
 And if my feble corps through weight of wofull smart
 Do fayle or faint, my will it is that still she kepe my hart.
 And when thys carcass here to earth shalbe refarde,
 I do bequeth my weried ghost to serue her afterwarde.

AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL POEMS

29

THE LADY GERALDINE

Ffrom Tuscan cam my ladies worthi race;
Faire Fflorence was sometime her auncient seate;
The westernne ile, whose pleasaunt showre doth face
Wylde Chambares cliffes, did geve her lyvely heate;
Ffostred she was with mylke of Irishe brest; 5
Her syer an erle, hir dame of princes bloud;
From tender yeres in Britaine she doth rest,
With a kinges child, where she tastes gostly foode;
Honsdon did furst present her to myn eyen;
Bryght ys her hew, and Geraldine shee highte; 10
Hampton me tawght to wishe her furst for myne;
And Windesor, alas! doth chace me from her sight.
Bewty of kind, her vertues from a bove,
Happy ys he that may obtaine her love.

30

WINDSOR MEMORIES

When Windesor walles sustained my wearied arme,
My hand, my chyn, to ease my restles hedde,
Ech pleasaunt plot revested green with warm,
The blossomed bowes, with lustie veare yspred,
The flowred meades, the weddyd birdes so late, 5
Myne eyes discovered. Than did to mynd resort
The ioily woes, the hateles shorte debate,
The rakhell life, that longes to loves disporte.
Wherwith, alas! myne hevy charge of care,
Heapt in my brest, brake forth against my will; 10
And smoky sighes, that over cast the ayer;
My vaped eyes such drery teares distill,
The tender spring to quicken wher thei fall;
And I have bent to throwe me downe with all.

31

THE POETS LAMENT FOR HIS LOST BOYHOOD

So crewell prison! howe could betyde, alas!
As prowde Wyndsour, where I, in lust & ioye,
With a Kinges soon my childishe yeres did passe,
In greater feast then Priams sonnes of Troye;

Where eche swete place retournes a tast full sowre. 5
The large grene courtes, where we wer wont to hove,
With eyes cast upp unto the maydens towre,
And easye sighes, such as folke drawe in love.

The stately sales: the ladyes bright of hewe;
The daunces short; long tales of great delight; 10
With wordes and lookes, that tygers could but rewe,
Where eche of vs did plead the others right.

The palme playe, where, dispoyled for the game,
With dased eyes oft we by gleames of love
Have mist the ball, and got sight of our dame, 15
To bayte her eyes which kept the ledde above.

The graveld ground: with sleeves tyed on the helme,
On fomyng horse, with swordes and frendlye hertes,
With chere, as though the one should overwhelme,
Where we have fought & chased oft with dartes. 20

With sylver dropps the meades yet spredd for rewthe,
In active games of nymblenes and strengthe
Where we dyd strayne, trayled by swarmes of youthe,
Our tender lymes, that yet shott vpp in lengthe.

The secret groves, which oft we made resound 25
Of pleasaunt playnt & of our ladyes prayes,
Recording soft, what grace eche one had found,
What hope of spede, what dred of long delayes.

The wyld forest, the clothed holte with grene,
With raynes avald and swift ybrethed horse, 30
With crye of houndes and merey blastes bitwen,
Where we did chace the fearfull hart a force.

The voyd walles eke, that harbourde vs eche night;
Wherwith, alas! revive within my brest
The swete accord, such slepes as yet delight, 35
The pleasaunt dreames, the quyet bedd of rest,

The secret thoughtes imparted with such trust,
 The wanton talke, the dyvers chaung of playe,
 The frendshipp sworne, eche promyse kept so iust,
 Wherwith we past the winter nightes awaye. 40

And with this thought the blood forsakes my face,
 The teares berayne my chekes of dedlye hewe;
 The which, as sone as sobbing sighes, alas!
 Vpsupped have, thus I my playnt renewe:

“O place of blys! renewer of my woos! 45
 Geve me accompt wher is my noble fere,
 Whome in thy walles thow didest eche night enclose,
 To other lief, but vnto me most dere.”

Eccho, alas! that dothe my sorowe rewe,
 Retournes therto a hollowe sound of playnt. 50
 Thus I, alone, where all my fredome grew,
 In pryson pyne with bondage and restraynt;

And with remembraunce of the greater greif,
 To bannishe the lesse, I fynde my chief releif.

32

A SATIRE ON LONDON, THE MODERN BABYLON

London, hast thow accused me
 Of breche of lawes, the roote of stryfe?
 Within whose brest did boyle to see,
 So fervent hotte, thy dissolute lief,
 That even the hate of synnes, that groo 5
 Within thy wicked walles so rife,
 Ffor to breake forthe did convert soo
 That terrour colde it not repress.
 The which, by wordes, syns prechers knoo
 What hope is left for to redresse, 10
 By vnknowne meanes, it liked me
 My hydden burden to expresse,
 Wherby yt might appere to the
 That secret synn hath secret spight;
 Ffrom iustice rodd no fault is free; 15
 But that all such as wourke vnright
 In most quyet, are next ill rest.

In secret sylence of the night
 This made me, with a reckles brest,
 To wake thy sluggardes with my bowe; 20
 A fygure of the Lordes behest,
 Whose scourge for synn the Screptures shew.
 That, as the fearfull thonder clapp
 By soddayne flame at hand we knowe,
 Of peoble stones the sowndles rapp, 25
 The dredfull plage might mak the see
 Of Goddes wrath, that doth the enwrapp;
 That pryde might know, from conscyence free,
 How loftye workes may her defend;
 And envye fynd, as he hath sought, 30
 How other seke hym to offend;
 And wrath tast of eche crewell thought
 The iust shapp hyer in the end;
 And ydell slouth, that never wrought,
 To heven hys spirite lift may begyn; 35
 & gredye lucre lyve in drede
 To see what haate ill gott goodes wynn;
 The lechers, ye that lustes do feed,
 Perceve what secrecy is in synne;
 And gluttons hartes for sorrow blede, 40
 Awaked, when their faulte they fynd.
 In lothsome vyce, eche dronken wight
 To styrr to Godd, this was my mynd.
 Thy wyndowes had don me no spight;
 But prowd people that drede no fall, 45
 Clothed with falshed and vnright
 Bred in the closures of thy wall,
 But wrested to wrathe in fervent zeale,
 Thow hast to strief, my secret call.
 Endured hartes no warning feale. 50
 Oh shameles hore! is dred then gone
 By suche thy foes, as ment thy weale?
 Oh membre of false Babylon!
 The shopp of craft! the denne of ire!
 Thy dredfull dome drawes fast uppon; 55
 Thy martyres blood, by swoord & fyre,
 In Heaven & earth for iustice call.
 The Lord shall here their iust desyre;
 The flame of wrath shall on the fall;
 With famyne and pest lamentable 60
 Stricken shalbe thy lecheres all;

Thy prowde towers and turretes hye,
 Enmyes to God, beat stone from stone;
 Thyne idolles burnt, that wrought iniquitie.
 When none thy ruine shall bemone,
 But render vnto the right wise Lord,
 That so hath iudged Babylon,
 Immortall praise with one accord.

65

33

LADY SURREYS LAMENT FOR HER ABSENT LORD

Good ladies, you that have your pleasure in exyle,
 Stepp in your foote, come, take a place, and mourne with me awhyle;
 And suche as by their lords do sett but lytle pryce,
 Lett them sitt still, it skills them not what chaunce come on the dyce.
 But you whome love hath bound, by order of desyre
 To love your lordes, whose good desertes none other wold requyre,
 Come you yet once agayne, and sett your foote by myne,
 Whose wofull plight, and sorowes great, no tongue may well defyne.
 My lord and love, alas! in whome consystes my wealth,
 Hath fortune sent to passe the seas, in haserd of his health.
 That I was wontt for to embrace, contentid myndes,
 Ys now amydd the foming floodds, at pleasure of the wyndes.
 Theare God hym well preserve, and safelye me hym send;
 Without whiche hope, my lyf, alas! weare shortlye at an ende.
 Whose absence yet, although my hope doth tell me plaine
 With short returne he comes anon, yet ceasith not my payne.
 The fearefull dreames I have, oft tymes they greeve me so
 That then I wake, and stand in dowbtt yf they be trew or no.
 Somtyme the roring seas, me seemes, they grow so hye,
 That my sweete lorde in daunger greате, alas! doth often lye.
 Another tyme, the same doth tell me he is comme,
 And playng, wheare I shall hym fynd, with T., his lytle sonne.
 So forthe I goe apace, to see that lyfsome sight,
 And with a kysse, me thinckes I say, "Now well come home, my knight;
 Welcome, my sweete, alas! the staye of my welfare;
 Thye presence bringeth forthe a truce betwixt me and my care."
 Then lyvelye doth he looke, and saluith me agayne,
 And saith, "My deare, how is it now that you have all this payne?"
 Wheare with the heaуie cares, that heapt are in my brest,
 Breake forth, and me dischargdgeth cleane of all my great unrest.
 Butt when I me awayke and fynde it but a dreame,
 The angwyshe of my former woe beginneth more extreme,

5

10

15

20

25

30

And me tourmentith so that vnneth may I fynde
 Some hydden wheare, to steale the gryfe of my unquyet mynd.
 Thus, euerye waye, you see with absence how I burne, 35
 And for my wound no cure there is but hope of some retourne,
 Save when I feele, the sower, how sweete is felt the more,
 It doth abate some of my paynes that I abode before;
 And then unto my self I saye, "When that we two shall meete,
 But lyttle tyme shall seeme this payne, that joye shall be so sweete." 40
 Ye wyndes, I you conuart, in chieffest of your rage,
 That you my lord me safelye send, my sorowes to asswage;
 And that I may not long abyde in suche excesse,
 Do your good will to cure a wight that lyveth in distresse.

34

AN IRATE HOST

Eache beeste can chuse his feere according to his minde,
 And eke to shew a frindlie cheare, lyke to their beastly kynd.
 A lyon saw I theare, as whyte as any snow,
 Whiche seemyd well to leade the race, his porte the same did shew.
 Uppon this gentyll beast to gaze it lyked me, 5
 For still me thought, it seemyd me, of noble blood to be.
 And as he praunced before, still seeking for a make,
 As whoe wolde say, "There is none heare, I trow, will me forsake,"
 I might perceave a woolf, as whyte as whale his bone,
 A fayrer beast, a fressher hew, beheld I never none, 10
 Save that her lookes wear fearce and froward eke her grace.
 Toward the whiche, this gentle beast gan hym advaunce apace,
 And, with a beck full low, he bowed at her feete
 In humble wyse, as who wold say, "I am to farr unmeete";
 But suche a scornfull cheere, wheare with she hym rewarded, 15
 Was never seene, I trow, the lyke, to suche as well deservid.
 Wheare with she startt asyde well neare a foote or twayne,
 And unto hym thus gan she saye, with spight and great disdayne:
 "Lyon," she said, "yf thou hadest knowen my mynde beforne,
 Thou hadst not spentt thie travaile thus, and all thie payne forlorne. 20
 Do waye! I lett the weete, thou shalt not play with me;
 But raunge aboute: thou maiste seeke oute some meeter feere for the."
 Forthwith he beatt his taile, his eyes begounne to flame;
 I might perceave his noble hartt moche moved by the same.
 Yet saw I him refrayne, and eke his rage asswage, 25
 And unto her thus gan he say, whan he was past his rage:

"Crewell, you do me wronge to sett me thus so light;
 Without desert, for my good will to shew me such dispiht.
 How can you thus entreat a lyon of the race,
 That with his pawes a crowned kinge deuoured in the place? . 30
 Whose nature is, to prea uppon no symple foode
 As longe as he may suck the flesshe, and drinke of noble bloode.
 Yf you be faire and fresshe, am I not of your hew?
 And, for my vaunte, I dare well say my blood is not untrew;
 Ffor you your self dothe know, it is not long agoe, 35
 Sins that, for love, one of the race did end his life in woe
 In towre both strong and highe, for his assured truthe.
 Wheare as in teares he spent his breath, alas! the more the ruthe;
 This gentle beast lykewise, who nothinge could remove,
 But willinglye to seeke his death for losse of his true love. 40
 Other ther be whose lyfe, to lynger still in payne,
 Against their will preservid is, that wold have dyed right fayne.
 But well I may perceave that nought it movid you,
 My good entent, my gentle hart, nor yet my kynd so true;
 But that your will is suche to lure me to the trade, 45
 As others some full many yeares to trace by crafte you made.
 And thus beholde my kynd, how that we differ farr:
 I seke my foes, and you your frends do threaten still with warr;
 I fawne wheare I am fedd, you flee that seekes to you;
 I can deuoure no yelding pray, you kill wheare you subdue; 50
 My kynd, is to desyre the honour of the field,
 And you, with blood to slake your thirst of suche as to you yelde.
 Wherefore I wolde you wist, that for your coy looks
 I am no man that will be traynd, nor tanglyd bye suche hookes;
 And thoughe some list to bow, wheare blame full well they might, 55
 And to suche beastes a currant fawne, that shuld have travaile bright,
 I will observe the law that nature gave to me,
 To conqueare such as will resist, and let the rest go free.
 And as a ffaulcon free, that soreth in the ayre,
 Whiche never fedd on hand or lure, that for no stale doth care, 60
 While that I live and breathe, suche shall my custome be
 In wildnesse of the woods to seeke my prea, wheare pleasith me;
 Where many one shall rew that never mad offence:
 Thus your refuse agaynst my powre shall bode them no defence.
 In the revendge wherof, I vowe and sweare therto, 65
 A thowsand spoyles I shall commytt I never thought to do;
 And yf to light on you my happ so good shall be,
 I shall be glad to feede on that that wold have fed on me.

And thus, farewell! unkynd, to whome I bent to low,
 I would you wist the shipp is safe that bare his saile so low! 70
 Syns that a lyons hart is for a wolfe no pray,
 With blooddye mowth of symple sheepe go slake your wrath, I say,
 With more dispight and ire than I can now expresse,
 Whiche to my payne though I refrayne the cause you may well gesse:
 As for becawse my self was awthour of this game, 75
 It bootes me not that, by my wrath, I should disturbb the same.

35

PROLOG TO PSALM 88

Wher recheles youthe in a vnquiet brest,
 Set on by wrath, revenge, and crueltye,
 After long warr pacyens had opprest,
 And iustice wrought by pryncelye equitie;
 My Deny, then myne errour, depe imprest, 5
 Began to worke dispaire of libertye,
 Had not David, the perfytt warriour, tought
 That of my fault thus pardon shold be sought.

36

PROLOG TO PSALM 73

The souddden stormes that heaue me to and froo
 Had welneare pierced faith, my guyding saile,
 For I, that on the noble voyage goo
 To succhor treuthe and falshed to assaile,
 Constrayned am to beare my sayles ful loo 5
 And neuer could attayne some pleasaunt gaile,
 For vnto such the prosperous winds doo bloo
 As ronne from porte to porte to seke availe.
 This bred dispayre, wherof such doubts did groo
 That I gan faint and all my courage faile. 10
 But now, my Blage, myne errour well I see;
 Such goodlye light King David giueth me.

37

REFLECTIONS FROM THE TOWER

The stormes are past, these cloudes are ouerblowne,
 And humble chere great rygour hath repress.
 For the defaute is set a paine foreknowne,
 And pacience graft in a determed brest.
 And in the hart where heapes of griefes were grown, 5
 The swete reuenge hath planted mirth and rest;
 No company so pleasant as myne owne.
 Thraldom at large hath made this prison fre;
 Danger well past, remembred, workes delight.
 Of lingring doutes such hope is sprong, perdie! 10
 That nought I finde displeasaunt in my sight
 But when my glasse presented vnto me
 The curelesse wound that bledeth day and night.
 To think, alas! such hap should graunted be
 Vnto a wretch that hath no hart to fight, 15
 To spill that blood that hath so oft bene shed
 For Britannes sake, alas! and now is ded.

MORAL AND DIDACTIC POEMS

38

A TRIBUTE TO WYATTS PSALMS

The greate Macedon, that out of Persy chased
Darius, of whose huge powre all Asia range,
In the riche arke yf Hommers rhymes he placed,
Who fayned gestes of heathen princes sange;
What holie grave, what worthy sepulture, 5
To Wyates Psalmes should Christians than purchase?
Where he doth painte the lively fayth and pure,
The stedfast hope, the sweet returne to grace,
Of iust David, by perfect penitence;
Where rulers may see, in a myrrour clere, 10
The bytter frute of false concupicence:
How Iurye bowght Vryas death full deere.
In princes hartes Godes scourge yprinted deepe
Mowght them awake out of their synfull sleepe.

39

AN EPIGRAM TO RADCLIFFE

My Ratclif, when thy rechlesse youth offendes,
Receue thy scourge by others chastisement.
For such callyng, when it workes none amendes,
Then plagues are sent without aduertisement.
Yet Salomon sayd, the wronged shall recure; 5
But Wiat said true, the skarre doth aye endure.

40

SARDANAPALUS

Th' Assyryans king—in peas, with fowle desyre
And filthye lustes that staynd his regall harte—
In warr, that should sett pryncelye hertes a fyre,
Vaynquyshd, dyd yelde for want of martyall arte.

(77)

The dent of swordes from kysses semed straunge, 5
 And harder then hys ladyes syde his targe;
 From glotton feastes to sowldyers fare a chaunge;
 His helmet, far aboue a garlandes charge.
 Who scace the name of manhode dyd retayne,
 Ffeble of sprete, vnpacyent of payne,
 When he hadd lost his honour and hys right,—
 Prowde, tyme of welthe, in stormes appawld with drede—,
 Muredred hym self to shew some manfull dede.
 Drenched in slouthe & womanishe delight. 10

41

THE HAPPY LIFE

Marshall, the thinges for to attayne
 The happy life be thes, I fynde:
 The riches left, not got with payne;
 The frutfull grownd; the quyet mynde;
 The equall freend; no grudge, nor stryf; 5
 No charge of rule nor governance;
 Without disease, the helthfull life;
 The howshold of contynvance;
 The meane dyet, no delicate fare;
 Wisdom ioyned with simplicity; 10
 The night discharged of all care,
 Where wyne may beare no soveranty;
 The chast wife, wyse, without debate;
 Suche sleapes as may begyle the night;
 Contented with thyne owne estate, 15
 Neyther wisshe death, nor fear his might.

42

THE GOLDEN MEAN

Of thy lyfe, Thomas, this compasse well mark;
 Not aye with full sayles the hye seas to beat;
 Ne by coward dred, in shonning stormes dark,
 On shalow shores thy keel in perill freat.
 Who so gladly halseth the golden meane, 5
 Voyde of dangers aduisdly hath his home
 Not with lothsom muck, as a den vncleane,
 Nor palacelyke, wherat disdayn may glome.

The lofty pyne the great winde often riuës ;
 With violenter swey falne turrets stepe ; 10
 Lightninges assault the hye mountains and cliues.
 A hart well stayd, in ouerthwartes depe,
 Hopeth amendes ; in swete, doth feare the sowre.
 God, that sendeth, withdrawth winter sharp.
 Now ill, not aye thus : once Phebus to lowre 15
 With bow vn bent shall cesse, and frame to harp
 His voyce. In straite estate appere thou stout ;
 And so wisely, when lucky gale of winde
 All thy puft sailes shall fil, loke well about,
 Take in a ryft ; hast is wast, profe doth finde. 20

43

THE AGES OF MAN

Laid in my quyett bedd, in study as I weare,
 I saw within my troubled hed a heape of thoughtes appeare ;
 And every thought did shew so lyvelye in myne eyes,
 That now I sight, and then I smylde, as cawse of thought did ryse.
 I saw the lytle boye, in thought how ofte that he 5
 Did wishe of Godd to scape the rodd, a tall yong man to be ;
 The yong man, eke, that feeles his bones with paynes opprest,
 How he wold be a riche olde man, to lyve and lye att rest ;
 The ryche olde man, that sees his end draw on so sore,
 How he wolde be a boy agayne, to lyve so moche the more. 10
 Wheare at, full ofte I smylde, to see how all theise three,
 From boy to man, from man to boy, wold chopp and chaunge degree ;
 And musing thus, I thincke the case is very straunge,
 That man from wealth, to lyve in woe, doth ever seeke to chaunge.
 Thus thoughtfull as I laye, I saw my witheryd skynne 15
 How it doth shew my dynted jawes, the flesshe was worne so thynne,
 And eke my tothelesse chapps, the gates of my right way,
 That opes and shuttes as I do speake, do thus unto me say :
 "Thie whyte and horishe heares, the messengers of age,
 That shew lyke lynes of true belief that this lif doth asswage, 20
 Bides the lay hand, and feele them hanging on thie chyn,
 The whiche do wryte twoe ages past, the thurd now cumming in.
 Hang upp, therfore, the bitt of thie yonge wanton tyme,
 And thow that theare in beaten art, the happyest lif defyne."
 Wheare at I sight, and said, "Farewell ! my wonted joye ; 25
 Trusse upp thie pack, and trudge from me to every lytle boye,
 And tell them thus from me, their tyme moste happie is,
 Yf, to their tyme, they reason had to know the truthe of this."

ELEGIAC POEMS

44

A TRIBUTE TO WYATT

In the rude age when science was not so rife,
If Jove in Crete, and other where they taught
Artes to revert to profyte of our lyfe,
Wan after deathe to have their temples sought;
If vertue yet, in no vnthankfull tyme, 5
Fayled of some to blast her endles fame—
A goodlie meane bothe to deter from cryme
And to her steppes our sequell to enflame;
In dayes of treuthe, if Wyattes frendes then waile—
The onelye debte that ded of quicke may clayme— 10
That rare wit spent, employde to our awayle,
Where Christe is taught, deserve they monnis blame?
His livelie face thy brest how did it freate,
Whose cynders yet with envye doo the eate.

45

A SECOND TRIBUTE TO WYATT

Dyvers thy death doo dyverslye bemone.
Some, that in presence of that lively hedd
Lurked, whose brestes envye with hate had sowne,
Yeld Cesars teres vpon Pompeius hedd.
Some, that watched with the murderers knyfe, 5
With egre thirst to drynke thy guyltles blood,
Whose practyse brake by happye end of lyfe,
Weape envyous teares to here thy fame so good.
But I that knewe what harbourd in that hedd,
What vertues rare were temperd in that brest, 10
Honour the place that such a iewell bredd,
And kysse the ground, where as thy coorse doth rest,
With vaporde eyes; from whence suche streames awayle
As Pyramus did on Thisbes brest bewayle.

46

A THIRD TRIBUTE TO WYATT

W. resteth here, that quick could neuer rest;
 Whose heauenly giftes encreased by disdain,
 And vertue sank the deper in his brest:
 Such profit he by enuy could obtain.

A hed, where wisdom misteries did frame; 5
 Whose hammers bet styll in that liuely brayn
 As on a stithe, where that some work of fame
 Was dayly wrought, to turne to Britaines gayn.

A visage, stern and myld; where bothe did grow,
 Vice to contemne, in vertue to reioyce; 10
 Amid great stormes, whom grace assured so,
 To lyue vpight, and smile at fortunes choyce.

A hand, that taught what might be sayd in ryme;
 That reft Chaucer the glory of his wit;
 A mark, the which—vnparfited, for time— 15
 Some may approche, but neuer none shall hit.

A tounge, that serued in forein realmes his king;
 Whose courteous talke to vertue did enflame
 Eche noble hart; a worthy guide to bring
 Our English youth, by trauail, vnto fame. 20

An eye, whose iudgement none affect could blinde.
 Fren-des to allure, and foes to reconcile;
 Whose persing loke did represent a mynde
 With vertue fraught, reposed, voyd of gyle.

A hart, where drede was neuer so imprest 25
 To hyde the thought that might the trouth auance;
 In neyther fortune lost, nor yet repest,
 To swell in wealth, or yeld vnto mischance.

A valiant corps, where force and beauty met,
 Happy, alas! to happy, but for foes, 30
 Lieud, and ran the race that nature set;
 Of manhodes shape, where she the molde did lose.

But to the heauens that simple soule is fled;
 Which left with such, as couet Christ to know,
 Witnesse of faith that neuer shall be ded;
 Sent for our helth, but not receiued so. 35

Thus, for our gilte, this iewel haue we lost;
 The earth his bones, the heavens possesse his gost.

47

A TRIBUTE TO THOMAS CLERE

Norfolk sprang thee, Lambeth holds thee dead,
 Clere, of the County of Cleremont, though hight.
 Within the womb of Ormonds race thou bred,
 And sawest thy cousin crowned in thy sight.
 Shelton for love, Surrey for lord, thou chase;— 5
 Aye, me! while life did last that league was tender.
 Tracing whose steps thou sawest Kelsall blaze,
 Laundersey burnt, and battered Bullen render.
 At Muttrel gates, hopeless of all recure,
 Thine Earl, half dead, gave in thy hand his will; 10
 Which cause did thee this pining death procure,
 Ere summers four times seven thou couldst fulfill.
 Ah, Clere! if love had booted, care, or cost,
 Heaven had not wonne, nor earth so timely lost.

TRANSLATIONS FROM THE BIBLE

48

ECCLESIASTES 1

I, Salamon, Dauids sonne, King of Ierusalem,
 Chossen by God to teach the Iewes and in his lawes to leade them,
 Confesse vnder the sonne that euery thing is uayne,
 The world is false, man he is fraile, and all his pleasures payne. 5
 Alas! what stable frute may Adams children fynde
 In that, they seke by sweate of browes and trauill of their mynde.
 We that liue on the earthe, drawe toward our decay;
 Ower childrenen fill our place a while, and then they fade awaye.
 Such chaunges maks the earthe, and dothe remoue for none,
 But sarues us for a place too play our tragedes vppon. 10
 When that the restles sonne, westwarde his course hathe ronne,
 Towards the east he hasts as fast, to ryse where he begonne.
 When hoorrey Boreas hathe blowen his frozen blaste,
 Then Zephirus, with his gentill breathe, dissolues the ise as fast.
 Ffludds that drinke vpp smale broks and swell by rage of rayne, 15
 Discharge in sees which them repulse, and swallowe straye againe.
 These worldly pleasures, Lord, so swifte they ronne their race
 That skace our eyes may them discern, they bide so littell space.
 What hathe bin, but is now, the like hereafter shall.
 What new deuce grounded so suer, that dreadeth not the fall? 20
 What may be called new, but suche things in tymes past
 As time buryed and dothe reuiue, and tyme agayne shall waste?
 Things past right worthy fame, haue now no brute at all;
 Euen so shall dey suche things as now the simple, wondrous call.
 I that, in Dauides seate, sit crowned and reioyce, 25
 That with my septer rewle the Iewes and teache them with my uoyce,
 Haue serchied long to know all things vnder the sonne,
 To see how, in this mortall lyef, a suerty might be wonne.
 This kyndled will to knowe, straunge things for to desyer,
 God hathe grafted in our gredye breasts, a torment for our hier. 30
 The end of eache trauell, furthwith I sought to knoo;
 I found them uaine, mixed with gall, and burdend with muche woo.
 Defaults of natures wourke no mans hand may restore,
 Whiche be in nomber like the sandes vppon the salte floods shore.

Then, vaunting in my witte, I gan call to my mynd 35
 What rewles of wysdom I hadde taught, that elders could not find;
 And as, by contraries, to treye most things, we use,
 Mens follies and ther errors, eke, I gan them all peruse,
 Thyerby with more delight, to knowledge for to clime.
 But this I found an endles wourke of payne and losse of tyme, 40
 Ffor he, to wisdomes skoole, that doth applie his mynd,
 The further that he wades ther in, the greater doubts shall find.
 And such as enterprice, to put newe things in ure,
 Of some, that shall skorne their deuise, may well them selves assure.

49

ECCLESIASTES 2

From pensif fanzies, then, I gan my hart reuoque,
 And gaue me to suche sporting plaies as laughter myght prouoke;
 But euen suche uain delights, when they moste blinded me,
 Allwayes, me thought, with smiling grace, a king did yll agre.
 Then sought I how to please my belly with muche wine, 5
 To feede me fatte with costely feasts of rare delights and fine,
 And other plesures, eke, too purchase me with rest,
 In so great choise to finde the thing that might content me best.
 But, Lord, what care of mynde, what soddaine stormies of ire,
 With broken slepes enduryd I, to compasse my desier! 10
 To buylde my howses faier then sett I all my cure;
 By princely acts thus straue I still to make my fame indure.
 Delicous gardens, eke, I made to please my sight,
 And grafte therin all kindes of fruts that might my mouthe delight.
 Condit, by liuely springs, from their owld course I drewe, 15
 For to refreshe the fruitfull trees that in my gardynes grewe.
 Of catell great encrease I bred in littell space.
 Bondmen I bought, I gaue them wives, and sarued me with ther race.
 Great heapes of shining gold, by sparing gan I saue,
 With things of price so furnyshed as fitts a prince to haue. 20
 To heare faier women sing, sometyme I did reioyce;
 Rauyshed with ther pleasannt tunes, and swetnes of their voyce.
 Lemans I had, so faier and of so liuely hewe
 That who so gased in their face myght well their bewtey rewe.
 Neuer erste sat theyr king so riche, in Dauyds seate; 25
 Yet still me thought for so smale gaine the trauaile was to great.
 From my desirous eyes I hyd no pleasannt sight,
 Nor from my hart no kind of myrth that might geue them delygth;

Which was the only freute I rept of all my payne,--
 To feade my eyes and to reioyce my hart with all my gaine. 30
 But when I made my compte, with howe great care of mynd
 And hertes vnrest that I had sought so wastfull frutt to fynde,
 Then was I streken strayte with that abused fier,
 To glorey in that goodly witte that compast my desyer.
 But freshe before myne eyes grace did my fawltys renewe: 35
 What gentill callings I hadd fledd, my ruynes purswe,
 What raging pleasurs past, perill and hard eskape,
 What fancis in my hed had wrought the licor of the grape.
 The erreure then I sawe that their fraile harts dothe moue,
 Which striue in vaine for to compare with him that sitts aboue. 40
 In whose most perfect worcks suche craft apperyth playne
 That to the least of them, their may no mortall hand attayne;
 And, like as light some day dothe shine aboue the night,
 So darke to me did folly seme, and wysdomes beames as bright.
 Whose eyes did seme so clere, mots to discern and fynde, 45
 But will had closed follies eyes, which groped like the blynde.
 Yet death and time consume all witt and worldly fame,
 And looke what ende that folly hath, and wisdom hath the same.
 Then sayd I thus, "Oh Lord, may not thy wisdom cure
 The wayfull wrongs and hard conflicts that folly doth endure?" 50
 To sharpe my witt so fine then why toke I this payne?
 Now finde I well this noble serche may eke be called vayne.
 As slanders lothsome brute soundes follies iust rewarde,
 Is put to silence all be time, and brought in smale regarde,
 Eun so dothe tyme deuoure the noble blast of fame, 55
 Which shoulde resounde their glories great that doo desarue the same.
 Thus present changes chase away the wonders past,
 Ne is the wise mans fattal thred yet lenger spunne to last.
 Then, in this wretched vale, our lief I lothed playne,
 When I beheld our frutles paynes to compasse pleassurs vayne. 60
 My trauayll this a vaile hath me produced, loo!
 An heire unknowen shall reape the frute that I in sede did sowe.
 But whervnto the Lord his nature shall inclyne,
 Who can fore knowe, into whose handes I must my goods resine!
 But, Lord, how pleasannt swete then seamd the idell lief, 65
 That neuer charged was with care, nor burdened with stryfe;
 And vile the grede trade of them that toile so sore,
 To leaue to suche ther trauells frute that neuer swet therefore.
 What is that pleasant gaine, which is that swet relief,
 That shoulde delay the bitter tast that we fele of our gref? 70

The gladsome dayes we passe to serche a simple gaine,
The quiete nights, with broken slepes, to fead a resteles brayne.

What hope is left us then, what comfort dothe remayne?
Our quiet herts for to reioyce with the frute of our payne.

Yf that be trew, who may him selfe so happy call 75
As I, whose free and sumptius spence dothe shyne beyonde them all?

Sewerly it is a gift and fauor of the Lorde,
Liberally to spende our goods, the ground of all discorde;

And wretched herts haue they that let their tressurs mold,
And carrey the roodde that skorgeth them that glorey in their gold. 80

But I doo knowe by proofe, whose ryches beres suche brute,
What stable welthe may stand in wast, or heping of suche frute.

50

ECCLESIASTES 3

Like to the stereles boote that swerues with euery wynde,
The slipper topp of worldly welthe by crewell prof I fynde.

Skace hath the seade, wherof that nature foremethe man,
Receuid lief, when deathe him yeldes to earth wher he began.

The grafted plants with payn, wherof wee hoped frute, 5
To roote them vpp, with blossomes sprede, then is our cheif porsute.

That erst we rered vpp, we undermyne againe; [paine.
And shred the spraies whose grouthe some tyme we laboured with

Eache frowarde thretning chere of fortune maiks vs playne,
And euery plesant showe reuiues our wofull herts againe. 10

Auncient walles to race is our unstable guyse,
And of their wether beten stones to buylde some new deuyse.

New fanzes dayly spring, which vaade returning moo;
And now we practyse to optaine that strayt we must forgoo.

Some tyme we seke to spare that afterward we wast, 15
And that we trauelid sore to knitt for to uncloze as fast.

In sober sylence now our quiet lipps we crosse,
And with vnbrydled touns furth with our secret herts disclosse.

Suche as in folded armes we did embrace, we haate;
Whom straye we reconsill againe and banishe all debate. 20

My sede with labour sowne, suche frute produceth me,
To wast my lief in contraries that neuer shall agree.

From God these heuy cares ar sent for our vnrests,
And with suche burdens for our welth he frauteth full our brests.

All that the Lord hath wrought, hath bewtey and good grace, 25
 And to eache thing assined is the proper tyme and place.
 And graunted eke to man, of all the worldes estate
 And of eache thing wrought in the same, to argue and debate.
 Which arte though it approche the heuenly knowlege moste,
 To serche the naturall grounde of things yet all is labor loste. 30
 But then the wandering eyes, that longe for suertey sought,
 Founde that by paine no certayne welth might in this world be bought.
 Who lieuth in delight and seks no gredy thryfte,
 But frely spends his goods, may thinke it as a secret gifte.
 Fulfilled shall it be, what so the Lorde intende, 35
 Which no deuice of mans witt may aduaunce, nor yet defende;
 Who made all thing of nought, that Adams chyldren might [sight.
 Lerne how to dread the Lord, that wrought suche wonders in their
 The gresly wonders past, which tyme wearse owte of mynde,
 To be renewed in our dayes the Lord hath so assynde. 40
 Lo! thus his carfull skourge dothe stele on us vnware,
 Which, when the fleshe hath clene forgott, he dothe againe repaire.
 When I in this uaine serche had wanderyd sore my witt,
 I saw a rioall throne wheras that iustice should haue sitt.
 In stede of whom I saw, with fyerce and crwell mode, 45
 Wher wrong was set, that bloody beast, that drounke the gittles blode.
 Then thought I thus: "One day the Lord shall sitt in dome,
 To vewe his flock, and chose the pure; the spotted haue no rome."
 Yet be suche skourges sent that eache agreuid mynde,
 Lyke the brute beasts that swell in rage and fury by ther kynde, 50
 His erreure may confesse, when he hath wreastede longe;
 And then with pacience may him arme, the sure defence of wronge.
 For death, that of the beaste the carion doth deuoure,
 Unto the noble kynde of man presents the fatall hower.
 The perfitt forme that God hath ether geuen to man 55
 Or other beast, dissolue it shall to earth wher it began.
 And who can tell yf that the sowle of man ascende,
 Or with the body if it dye, and to the ground decende.
 Wherefore eache gredy hart that riches seks to gayne,
 Gather may he that sauery frutte that springeth of his payne. 60
 A meane conuenient welth I meane to take in worth,
 And with a hand of larges eke in measure poore it fourth.
 For treasure spent in lyef, the bodye dothe sustayne;
 The heire shall waste the whourlded gold amassed with muche payne.
 Ne may foresight of man suche order geue in lyef, 65
 For to foreknow who shall reioyce their gotten good with stryef.

51

ECCLESIASTES 4

When I be thought me well, vnder the restles soon
 By foolke of power what crewell wourks unchastyced were doon,
 I saw wher stooode a heard by power of suche opprest,
 Oute of whose eyes ran floods of teares that bayned all ther brest;
 Deuoyde of comfort clene, in terroure and distresse, 5
 In whose defence none wolde aryse, suche rigor to repress.
 Then thought I thus, "Oh, Lord! the dead, whose fatal hower
 Is clene rounne owt, more happy ar, whom that the wormes deuoure;
 And happiest is the sede that neuer did conceue,
 That neuer felt the wayfull wrongs that mortall folke receue." 10
 And then I saw that welth, and euery honest gayne
 By traueill woune and swete of browes, gan grow into disdayne
 Throughe slouth of carles folke, whom ease so fatt dothe feade,
 Whose idell hands doo noght but waast the frute of other seeade;
 Which to them selves perswade that little gott with ease 15
 More thankefull is then kyndomes woon by trauayle and disceace.
 A nother sort I saw, with out bothe frend or kynne,
 Whose gredy wayes yet neuer sought a faithfull frend to winne;
 Whose wretched corps no toile yet euer very could,
 Nor gluttet euer wer their eyne with heaps of shyning gould. 20
 But yf it might appeare to ther abused eyne
 To whose a vaile they traueill so, and for whose sake they pyne,
 Then should they see what cause they haue for to repent
 The fruteles paynes and eke the tyme that they in vayne haue spent.
 Then gan I thus resoluë, "More pleasant is the lyef 25
 Of faythefull frends that spend their goods in commone, with out
 stryef."
 For as the tender frend appeasith euery gryef,
 So, yf he fall that liues alone, who shalbe his relyef?
 The frendly feares ly warme, in armes embraced faste;
 Who sleapes aloone at euery tourne dothe feale the winetr blast. 30
 What can he doo but yeld, that must resist aloone?
 Yf ther be twaine, one may defend the tother ouer throwne.
 The single twyned cordes may no suche stresse indure
 As cables brayded thre fould may, together wrethed swer.
 In better far estate stande children, poore and wyse, 35
 Then aged kyngs wedded to will, that worke with out aduice.
 In prison haue I sene, or this, a wofull wyght
 That neuer knewe what fredom ment, nor tasted of delyght;
 With such, unhoped happ in most dispaier hath mete,
 With in the hands that erst ware giues to haue a septime sett. 40

And by coniures the seade of kyngs is thrust from staate,
 Wheron agreuyd people worke ofteymes their hidden haat.
 Other, with out respect, I saw, a frend or foo,
 With feat worne bare in tracing such, whearas the honours groo.
 And at change of a prynce great rowtes reuiued strange, 45
 Which, faine theare owlde yoke to discharg, reioyced in the change.
 But when I thought, to theise as heuy euen or more
 Shalbe the burden of his raigne, as his that went before,
 And that a trayne like great upon the deade depend,
 I gan conclude eache gredy gayne his vncertayne end. 50
 In humble spritte is sett the temple of the Lorde;
 Wher, yf thow enter, loke thy mouth and consyence may accorde.
 Whose churtche is buylte of loue, and decte with hote desyre,
 And simple fayth; the yolden hoost his marcy doth requyre.
 Wher perfectly for aye he in his woord dothe rest; 55
 With gentill care to heare thy sute and graunt to thy request.
 In boost of owtwarde works he taketh no delight,
 Nor wast of wourds; suche sacryfice unsauereth in his sight.

52

ECCLESIASTES 5

When that repentant teares hathe clensyd clere from ill
 The charged brest, and grace hathe wrought therin amending will,
 With bold demands then may his mercy well assaile
 The speche man sayth, with owt the which request may not preuaile.
 More shall thy pennytent sighes his endles mercy please, 5
 Then their importune siuts which dreame that words Gods wrath
 appease.
 For hart contrit of fault is gladsome recompence,
 And praier fruit of faythe, wherby God dothe with synne dispence.
 As ferfull broken slepes spring from a restles hedde,
 By chattering of vnholly lippis is frutles prayer bredde. 10
 In wast of wynde, I rede, vowe nought vnto the Lord,
 Wherto thy hart, to bynd thy will, freely doth not accord;
 For humble uowes fulfilld, by grace right swetly smoks,
 But bold behests, broken by lusts, the wrath of God prouoks.
 Yet bett with humble hert thy frayltye to confesse, 15
 Then to bost of suche perfitnes, whose works suche fraude expresse.
 With fayned words and othes contract with God no gyle;
 Suche craft returns to thy nown harme, and doth thy self defile.
 And thoughe the myst of sinne perswad such error light,
 Therby yet ar thy owtward works all dampned in his sight. 20

As sondry broken dreames vs dyuerslye abuse,
 So ar his errors manifold that many words dothe use.
 With humble secret playnt, fewe words of hotte effect,
 Honor thy Lord; alowance vaine of uoyd desart, neglect.
 Though wronge at tymes the right, and welthe eke nede oppresse, 25
 Thinke not the hand of iustice slowe to followe the redresse.
 For such unrightius folke, as rule with out dredd,
 By some abuse or secret lust he suffereth to be led.
 The cheif blisse that in earth the liuing man is lent,
 Is moderat welth to nourishe lief, yf he can be content. 30
 He that hath but one felde, and gredely sekethe nought
 To fence the tillers hand from nede, is king within his thought.
 But suche as of ther golde ther only idoll make,
 Noe treasure may the rauens of there hungry hands asslake.
 For he that gapes for good, and hurdeth all his gayne, 35
 Trauells in uayne to hyde the sweet that shoulde releue his payne.
 Wher is gret welth, their shoulde be many a nedy wight
 To spend the same, and that should be the riche mans cheif delight.
 The sweet and quiet slepes that weryd limmes oppresse,
 Begile the night in diet thyne, and feasts of great excesse. 40
 But waker ly the riche, whose lyuely heat with rest
 Their charged booke with change of meats cannot so sone dygest.
 An other righteous dome I sawe of gredy gayne:
 With busye cares suche treasures oft preseruyd to their bayne;
 The plenteus howsses sackt, the owners end with shame; 45
 Their sparkelid goods; their nedy heyres, that shoulde reioyce the same.
 From welthe dyspoyled bare, from whence they came they went;
 Clad in the clothes of pouerte as nature furst them sent.
 Naked as from the wombe we came, yf we depart,
 With toyle to seeke that wee must leue, what bote to uexe the hart? 50
 What lyef leede testeye men then that consume their dayes
 In inwarde freets, untrempled hates, at stryfe with sum alwaies.
 Then gan I prayce all those, in suche a world of stryffe,
 As take the profitt of their goods, that may be had in lyffe.
 For sure the liberall hand that hath no hart to spare 55
 This fading welthe, but powres it forthe, it is a uertu rare.
 That maks welth slaue to nede, and gold becom his thrall,
 Clings not his gutts with niggishe fare, to heape his chest with all;
 But feeds the lusts of kynde with costely meats and wyne,
 And slacks the hunger and the thirst of nedy folke that pynne. 60
 Ne gluttons feast I meane in wast of spence to stryue,
 But temperat meales the dyled spryts with ioye thus to reuiue.
 No care may perce wher myrth hath trempled such a brest;
 The bitter gaull, seasoned with swete, suche wysdome may digest.

53

PSALM 8

Thie name, O Lord, howe greate is fownd before our sight!
 Yt filles the earthe and spreades the ayre, the great workes of thie might.
 For even unto thie powre the heavens have geven a place,
 And cloyd it above their heades a mightie lardge compace.
 Thye prayse what clowde can hyde, but it will sheene agayne, 5
 Synce yonge and tender sucking babes have powre to shew it playne;
 Whiche, in despyght of those that wold this glorye hide,
 Hast put into such infantes mowthes for to confounde their pryde.
 Wherefore I shall beholde thy fygurde heaven so hye,
 Whiche shews suche printes of dyvers formes within the clowdye skye 10
 As hills and shapes of men, eke beastes of sondrie kynde,
 Monstruous to our outward sight and fancyes of our mynde;
 And eke the wanishe moone whiche sheenes by night also,
 And eache one of the wondring sterres whiche after her doth goe;
 And how to kepe their course, and whiche are those that stands, 15
 Because they be thie wonderous workes and labours of thie hands.
 But yet among all theise I aske, "What thing is man,
 Whose tourne to serve in his poore neede this worke thow first began?
 Or whate is Adames sonne that beares his fathers marke,
 For whose delyte and comforte eke thow hase wrought all this warke? 20
 I see thow myndest hym moch that doste rewarde hym so,
 Beinge but earthe, to rule the earthe wheare on hymself doth go.
 Ffrom aungells substaunce eke, thow madeste hym differ small,
 Save one dothe chaunge his lif awhyle, the other not at all.
 The sonne and moone also, thow madeste to geve hym light, 25
 And eache one of the wandring sterris to twynckle sparkles bright.
 The ayre to geve hym breathe, the water for his health,
 The earth to bring forth grayne and frute for to encrease his wealth.
 And many mettalls to, for pleasure of the eye,
 Whiche, in the hollow sowndyd grownd, in previe vaynes do lye. 30
 The sheepe to geve his wool, to wrapp his boddie in,
 And for suche other needefull thynges the oxe to spare his skynne.
 The horsses, even at his will, to bear hym to and fro,
 And as hym list eache other beaste to serve his turne also.
 The fysshes of the sea lykewyse, to feede hym ofte, 35
 And eke the birdes, whose feathers serve to make his sydes lye softe.
 On whose head thow hast sett a crowne of glorye to,
 To whome also thow didest appoint that honour shuld be do.
 And thus thow madeste hym lord of all this worke of thyne:
 Of man that goes; of beast that creapes, whose lookes dothe downe
 declayne; 40

Of ffyssh that swymme below ; of fflowles that flyes on hye ;
 Of sea that fyndes the ayre his rayne ; and of the land so drye.
 And underneath his feete thow hast sett all this same,
 To make hym know and playne confesse that marveilous is thie name.
 And Lord, whiche art our Lord, how merveilous is it fownd 45
 The heavens doth shew, the earth doth tell, and eke the world so rownd.
 Glorie therefore be geven to thee first, whiche art three,
 And yet but one almightie God, in substance and degree.
 As first it was when thow the darcke confused heape
 Clottid in one, didst part in fowre, which elementes wee cleape,
 And as the same is now, even heare within our tyme,
 And ever shall here after be, when we be filth and slyme."

54

PSALM 55

Giue eare to my suit, Lord ! fromward hide not thy face.
 Beholde, herking in grief, lamenting how I praye.
 My foees they bray so lowde, and eke threpe on so fast,
 Buckeled to do me scathe, so is their malice bent.
 Care perceth my entrayles, and traueyleth my spryte ; 5
 The greslye feare of death enuyroneth my brest ;
 A tremblynge cold of dred clene ouerwhelmeth my hert.
 "O !" thinke I, "hadd I wings like to the symple doue,
 This peryll myght I flye, and seke some place of rest
 In wylder woods, where I might dwell farr from these cares." 10
 What speedy way of wing my playnts shold thei lay on,
 To skape the stormye blast that threatned is to me ?
 Rayne those vnbrydled tungs ! breake that coniured league !
 For I decyphred haue amydd our towne the stryfe :
 Gyle and wrong kept the walles, they ward both day and night ; 15
 And whiles myscheif with care doth kepe the market stede ;
 Whilst wickidnes with craft in heaps swarme through the strete.
 Ne my declared foo wrought me all this reproche ;
 By harme so loket for, yt wayeth halfe the lesse,
 For, though myne ennemyes happ had byn for to prevaile, 20
 I cold haue hidd my face from uenym of his eye.
 It was a frendly foo, by shadow of good will,
 Myne old fere and dere frende, my guyde, that trapped me ;
 Where I was wont to fetch the cure of all my care,
 And in his bosome hyde my secreat zeale to God. 25
 Such soden surprys quicke may them hell deuoure,
 Whilst I inuoke the Lord, whose power shall me defend.

My prayer shall not cease from that the sonne disscends
 Till he his haulture wynn and hyde them in the see.
 With words of hott effect, that moueth from hert contryte, 30
 Such humble sute, O Lord, doth pierce thy pacyent eare.
 It was the Lord that brake the bloody compactts of those
 That preloked on with yre to slaughter me and myne.
 The euerlasting God whose kingdom hath no end,
 Whome, by no tale to dred he cold divert from synne, 35
 The consyence vnquyet he stryks with heuy hand,
 And proues their force in fayth whome he sware to defend.
 Butter fales not so soft as doth hys pacyence longe,
 And ouer passeth fine oyle, running not halfe so smothe;
 But when his suffraunce fynds that bryddled wrath prouoks, 40
 He thretneth wrath, he whets more sharppe then any toole can fyle.
 Friowr, whose harme and tounge presents the wicked sort
 Of those false wolves, with cootes which doo their ravin hyde,
 That sweare to me by heauen, the fotestole of the Lord,
 Who though force had hurt my fame, they did not touch my lyfe;— 45
 Such patching care I lothe as feeds the welth with lyes.
 But in the thother Psalme of David fynd I ease:
 Iacta curam tuam super dominum et ipse te enutriet.

55

PSALM 88

Oh Lorde, vppon whose will dependeth my welfare,
 To call vppon thy hollye name syns daye nor night I spare,
 Graunt that the iust request of this repentaunt mynd
 So perce thyne eares that in thy sight som fauour it may fynd.
 My sowle is fraughted full with greif of follies past: 5
 My restles bodye doth consume and death approacheth fast;
 Lyke them whose fatall threde thy hand hath cut in twayne,
 Of whome ther is no further brewte, which in their graues remayne.
 Oh Lorde, thou hast cast me hedling, to please my foe,
 Into a pitt all botomeles, whear as I playne my wooe. 10
 The burden of thy wrath it doth me sore oppresse,
 And sundrye stormes thou hast me sent of terroure and distresse.
 The faithfull frends ar fled and bannysshed from my sight,
 And such as I haue held full dere haue sett my friendship light.
 My duraunce doth perswade of fredom such dispaire 15
 That, by the teares that bayne my brest, myne eye sight doth appaire.
 Yet did I neuer cease thyne ayde for to desyre,
 With humble hart and stretched hands for to appease thy yre.

Wherefore dost thou forbear, in the defence of thyne,
 To shewe such tokens of thy power, in sight of Adams lyne, 20
 Wherby eche feble hart with fayth might so be fedd
 That in the mouthe of thy elect thy mercyes might be spread.
 The fleshe that fedeth wormes can not thy loue declare,
 Nor suche sett forth thy faith as dwell in the land of dispaire.
 In blind endured herts light of thy lively name 25
 Can not appeare, as can not iudge the brightnes of the same.
 Nor blazed may thy name be by the mouth of those
 Whome death hath shitt in sylence, so as they may not disclose.
 The liuely uoyce of them that in thy word delight
 Must be the trumppe that must resound the glorie of thy might. 30
 Wherefore I shall not cease, in chief of my distresse,
 To call on the till that the sleape my veryd lymes oppresse.
 And in the morning eke, when that the slepe is fledd,
 With floods of salt repentaunt teres to washe my restles bedd.
 Within this carefull mynd, bourdynd with care and greif, 35
 Why dost thou not appere, Oh Lord, that sholdest be his relief?
 My wretched state beholde, whome death shall strait assaile;
 Of one from youth afflicted still, that never did but waile.
 The dread, loo! of thyne yre hath trod me vnder feet;
 The scourgis of thyne angrye hand hath made deth seme full sweet. 40
 Like to the roring waues the sunken shipp surrounde,
 Great heaps of care did swallow me and I no succour found.
 For they whome no myschaunce could from my loue devyde
 Ar forced, for my greater greif, from me their face to hyde.

56

PSALM 73

Thoughe, Lorde, to Israell thy graces plentuous be—
 I meane to such with pure intent as fixe their trust in the—,
 Yet whiles the faith did faynt that shold haue ben my guyde,
 Lyke them that walk in slipper pathes my feet began to slyde.
 Whiles I did grudge at those that glorey in ther golde, 5
 Whose lothsom pryde reioyseth welth, in quiet as they wolde.
 To se by course of yeres what nature doth appere,
 The pallyces of princely fourme succede from heire to heire;
 From all such trauailes free as longe to Adams sede;
 Neither withdrawne from wicked works by daunger nor by dread, 10
 Wherof their skornfull pryde; and gloried with their eyes,
 As garments clothe the naked man, thus ar they clad in vyce.

Thus as they wishe succeds the mischief that they meane,
 Whose glutton cheks slouth feeds so fatt as scant their eyes be sene.
 Vnto whose crewell power most men for dred ar fayne 15
 To bend and bow with loftye looks, whiles they vawnt in their rayne
 And in their bloody hands, whose creweltye doth frame
 The wailfull works that skourge the poore with out regard of blame.
 To tempt the living God they thinke it no offence,
 And pierce the symple with their tungs that can make no defence. 20
 Suche proofes before the iust, to cawse the harts to wauer,
 Be sett, lyke cupps myngled with gall of bitter tast and sauer.
 Then saye thy foes in skorne, that tast no other foode,
 But sucke the fleshe of thy elect and bath them in their bloode:
 "Shold we beleue the Lorde doth know and suffer this? 25
 Ffoled be he with fables vayne that so abused is."
 In terrour of the iust thus raignes iniquitye,
 Armed with power, laden with gold, and dred for crueltye.
 Then vayne the warr might seme that I by faythe mayntayne
 Against the fleshe, whose false effects my pure hert wold distayne. 30
 For I am scourged still, that no offence have doon,
 By wrathes children; and from my byrth my chastesing begoon.
 When I beheld their pryde and slacknes of thy hand,
 I gan bewaile the wofull state wherin thy chosen stand.
 And as I sought wherof thy sufferaunce, Lord, shold groo, 35
 I found no witt cold pierce so farr, thy hollye domes to knoo,
 And that no mysteryes nor dought could be distrust
 Till I com to the holly place, the mansion of the iust,
 Where I shall se what end thy iustice shall prepare
 For such as buyld on worldly welth, and dye ther colours faire. 40
 Oh! how their ground is false and all their buylding vayne! [tayne.
 And they shall fall, their power shall faile that did their pryde mayn-
 As charged harts with care, that dreame some pleasaunt tourne,
 After their sleape fynd their abuse, and to their plaint retourne,
 So shall their glorye faade; thy sword of vengeance shall, 45
 Vnto their dronken eyes, in blood disclose their errorrs all.
 And when their golden fleshe is from their backe yshorne,
 The spotts that vnder neth wer hidd, thy chosen shepe shall skorne.
 And till that happye daye my hert shall swell in care,
 My eyes yeld teares, my yeres consume bitwne hope and dispayre. 50
 Loo! how my sprits ar dull, and all thy iudgments darke;
 No mortall hedd may skale so highe, but wunder at thy warke.
 Alas! how oft my foes haue framed my decaye;
 But when I stode in drede to drenche, thy hands still did me stay.
 And in each voyage that I toke to conquer synne, 55
 Thow wert my guyd, and gaue me grace to comfort me therin.

And when my withered skyn vnto my bones did cleue,
And fleshe did wast, thy grace did then my simple sprits releue.

In other succour then, Oh Lord, why should I trust,
But onely thyn, whom I haue found in thy behight so iust.

60

And suche for drede or gayne, as shall thy name refuse,
Shall perishe with their golden godds that did their harts seduce.

Where I, that in thy worde haue set my trust and ioye,
The highe reward that longs therto shall quietlye enioye.

And my vnworthye lypps, inspired with thy grace,
Shall thus forespeke thy secret works, in sight of Adams race.

65

TRANSLATIONS FROM THE ÆNEID

57

Book 2

They whisted all, with fixed face attent,
 When prince Aeneas from the royal seat
 Thus gan to speak: "O Quene! it is thy wil
 I should renew a woe cannot be told,
 How that the Grekes did spoile and ouerthrow 5
 The Phrygian wealth and wailful realm of Troy:
 Those ruthfull things that I my self beheld,
 And whereof no small part fel to my share.
 Which to expresse, who could refraine from teres:
 What Myrmidon? or yet what Dolopes? 10
 What stern Ulysses waged soldiar?
 And loe! moist night now from the welkin falles;
 And sterres declining counsel vs to rest.
 But sins so great is thy delight to here
 Of our mishaps and Troyes last decay, 15
 Though to record the same my minde abhorres
 And plaint eschues, yet thus wil I begyn.
 The Grekes chieftains all irked with the war,
 Wherin they wasted had so many yeres
 And oft repulst by fatal destinie, 20
 A huge hors made, hye raised like a hill,
 By the diuine science of Minerua;
 Of clouen fir compacted were his ribbs;
 For their return a fained sacrifice,
 The fame wherof so wandred it at point. 25
 In the dark bulk they closde bodies of men
 Chosen by lot, and did enstuff by stealth
 The hollow womb with armed soldiars.
 There stands in sight an isle, hight Tenedon,
 Rich, and of fame, while Priams kingdom stood; 30
 Now but a bay, and rode vnsure for ship.
 Hether them secretly the Grekes withdrew,
 Shrouding themselues vnder the desert shore.
 And wening we they had ben fled and gone,
 And with that winde had fet the land of Grece, 35
 Troye discharged her long continued dole.

The gates cast vp, we issued out to play,
 The Grekish camp desirous to behold,
 The places void and the forsaken costes.
 Here Pyrrhus band, there ferce Achilles pight; 40
 Here rode their shippes; there did their batteils ioyned.
 Astonnied, some the scathefull gift beheld,
 Behight by vow vnto the chaste Minerue,
 All wondring at the hugeness of the horse.
 And fyrst of all Timoetes gan aduise 45
 Wythin the walles to leade and drawe the same,
 And place it eke amidde the palace court;
 Whether of guile, or Troyes fate it would.
 Capys, wyth some of iudgement more discrete, 50
 Wild it to drown, or vnder set with flame
 The suspect present of the Grekes deceit,
 Or bore and gage the hollowe caues uncouth.
 So diuerse ranne the giddy peoples minde.
 Loe! formest of a rout that followd him,
 Kindled Laocoon hasted from the towre, 55
 Crieng far of: 'O wreched citezens,
 What so great kind of frensie freteth you?
 Deme ye the Grekes our enemies to be gone?
 Or any Grekish giftes can you suppose
 Deuoid of guile? Is so Ulysses known? 60
 Either the Grekes are in this timber hid,
 Or this an engin is to any our walles,
 To view our toures, and ouerwhelme our towne.
 Here lurkes some craft. Good Troyans, geue no trust
 Unto this horse, for, what so euer it be, 65
 I dred the Grekes; yea! when they offer gyftes!
 And with that word, with all his force a dart
 He launced then into that croked wombe;
 Which trembling stack, and shoke within the side,
 Wherwith the caues gan hollowly resound. 70
 And, but for Fautes and for our blind forecast,
 The Grekes deuise and guile had he discried;
 Troy yet had stand, and Priams toures so hie.
 Therwyth behold, wheras the Phrigian herdes
 Brought to the king with clamor, all vnknown 75
 A yongman, bound his handes behinde his back;
 Whoe willingly had yelden prisoner,
 To frame his guile, and open Troyes gates
 Unto the Grekes; with courage fully bent,
 And minde determed either of the twaine,— 80
 To worke his feat, or willing yeld to death.

- Nere him, to gaze, the Trojan youth gan flock,
 And straue whoe most might at the captiue scorne.
 The Grekes deceit beholde, and by one profe
 Imagine all the rest. 85
- For in the preasse as he vnarmed stood,
 Wyth troubled chere, and Phrigian routes beset,
 'Alas!' quod he, 'what earth nowe, or what seas
 May me receyue? catif, what restes me nowe?
 For whom in Grece doth no abode remayne; 90
 The Troians eke offended seke to wreke
 Their hainous wrath, wyth shedyng of my bloud.'
 With this regrete our hartes from rancor moued.
 The brute appeasde, we askte him of his birth,
 What newes he brought, what hope made hym to yeld. 95
- Then he, al dred remoued, thus began:
 'O King! I shall, what euer me betide,
 Say but the truth; ne first will me denie
 A Grecian borne, for though fortune hath made
 Sinon a wretche, she can not make him false. 100
- If euer came vnto your eares the name,
 Nobled by fame, of the sage Palamede,
 Whom traitrously the Grekes condemd to dye,
 Giltlesse, by wrongfull dome, for that he dyd
 Dyssuade the warres,—whose death they nowe lament; 105
 Underneth him my father, bare of wealth,
 Into his band yong, and nere of his blood,
 In my prime yeres vnto the war me sent.
 While that by fate his state in stay did stand,
 And when his realm did florish by aduise, 110
 Of glorie, then, we bare som fame and brute.
 But sins his death by false Ulysses sleight
 —I speak of things to all men wel beknown—,
 A drery life in doleful plaint I led,
 Repining at my gyltlesse frends mischaunce. 115
- Ne could I, fool! refrein my tong from thretes,
 That if my chaunce were euer to return
 Victor to Arge, to folowe my reuenge.
 With such sharp words procured I great hate;
 Here sprang my harm. Ulysses euer sithe 120
 With new found crimes began me to affray;
 In common eares false rumors gan he sowe;
 Weapons of wreke his gylty minde gan seke.
 Ne rested ay till he by Calchas meane—
 But whereunto these thanklesse tales in vaine 125

Do I reherse, and lingre fourth the time,
 In like estate if all the Grekes ye price?
 It is enough ye here rid me at ones.
 Ulysses, Lord! how he wold this reioise!
 Yea, and either Atride wold bye it dere.' 130

This kindled vs more egre to enquire,
 And to demaund the cause; without suspect
 Of so great mischef thereby to ensue,
 Or of Grekes craft. He then with forged words
 And quiuering limes, thus toke hys tale again. 135

'The Grekes oft times entended their return
 Ffom Troye town, with long warrs all ytired,
 For to dislodge; which, wold God! they had done.
 But oft the winter storms of raging seas,
 And oft the boisteous winds did them to stay; 140
 And chiefly, when of clinched ribbes of firre
 This hors was made, the storms rored in the aire.
 Then we in dout to Phebus temple sent
 Euripilus, to wete the prophesye.
 From whens he brought these woful news again: 145
 'With blood, O Grekes! and slaughter of a maid,
 Ye pleasd the winds, when first ye came to Troy.
 With blood likewise ye must seke your return:
 A Grekish soule must offred be therefore.'

'But when this sound had pearst the peoples eares, 150
 With sodein fere astonied were their mindes;
 The chilling cold did ouerrunne their bones,
 To whom that fate was shapte whom Phebus wold.
 Ulysses then amid the preasse brings in
 Calchas with noyse, and wild him to discusse 155
 The gods intent. Then some gan deme to me
 The cruell wreke of him that framde the craft,
 Foreseing secretly what wold ensue.
 In silence then, yshrowding him from sight,
 But dayes twise fiue he whisted, and refused 160
 To death, by speche, to further any wight.
 At last, as forced by false Ulysses crye,
 Of purpose he brake fourth, assigning me
 To the altar; whereto they graunted all,
 And that, that erst eche one dred to himself, 165
 Returned all vnto my wretched death.
 And now at hand drew nere the woful day;
 All things preparde wherwyth to offer me:
 Salt, corne, fillets my temples for to bind.

- I scapte the deth, I graunt, & brake ye bands,
 And lurked in a marrise all the nyght
 Among the ooze, while they did set their sailes;
 If it so be that they in dede so dyd.
 Now restes no hope my natiue land to see,
 My children dere, nor long desired sire,
 On whom, parchaunce, they shall wreke my escape:
 Those harmless wights shal for my fault be slayn.
 'Then, by the gods, to whom al truth is known,
 By fayth vnfiled, if any any where
 Wyth mortal folke remaines, I thee beseche,
 O king, thereby rue on my trauail great;
 Pitie a wretch that giltlesse suffreth wrong.'
 Life to these teres, wyth pardon eke, we graunt.
 And Priam first himself commaundes to lose
 His gyues, his bands, and frendly to him sayd:
 'Whoso thou art, learn to forget the Grekes;
 Hencefourth be oures; and answer me with truth:
 Whereto was wrought the masse of this huge hors?
 Whoes the deuise? and wherto should it tend?
 What holly vow? or engin for the warres?'
 Then he, instruct with wiles and Grekish craft,
 His loosed hands lift vpward to the sterrs:
 'Ye euerlasting lampes! I testifye,
 Whoes powr diuine may not be violate;
 Thaltar and swerd,' quod he, 'that I haue scapt;
 Ye sacred bandes! I wore as yelden hoste;
 Leful be it for me to breke mine othe
 To Grekes; lefull to hate their nacion;
 Lefull be it to sparcle in the ayre
 Their secretes all, whatsoe they kepe in close;
 For free am I from Grece and from their lawes.
 So be it, Troy, and, saued by me from scathe,
 Kepe faith with me, and stand to thy behest;
 If I speak truth, and opening thinges of weight,
 For graunt of life requite thee large amendes.
 'The Grekes whole hope of vndertaken war
 In Pallas help consisted euermore.
 But sith the time that wicked Diomede,
 Ulysses eke, that forger of all guile,
 Auenturde from the holly sacred fane
 For to bereue dame Pallas fatall forme,
 And slew the watches of the chefest toure,
 And then away the holly statue stale,—

That were so bold with handes embrued in blood
 The virgin goddesses veiles for to defile—, 215
 Sith that, their hope gan faile, their hope to fall,
 Their powr appeir, their goddesses grace withdraw,
 Whych with no doutfull signes she did declare.
 Scarce was the statute to our tentes ybroughte,
 But she gan stare with sparckled eyes of flame; 220
 Along her limes the salt sweat trickled downe;
 Yea, thrise her selfe—a hideous thinge to tell—
 In glaunces bright she glittered from the ground,
 Holding in hand her targe and quiuering spere.
 Calchas by sea then bade vs hast our flight, 225
 Whoes engins might not break the walles of Troy,
 Unlesse at Grece they wold renew their lottes,
 Restore the god that they by sea had brought
 In warped keles. To Arge sith they be come,
 They pease their godds, and war afresh prepare, 230
 And crosse the seas vnloked for eftsones
 They will return. This order Calchas set.
 ‘This figure made they for thagreued god
 In Pallas stede, to clense their hainous fault.
 Which masse he willed to be reared hye 235
 Toward the skies, and ribbed all with oke,
 So that your gates ne wall might it receiue;
 Ne yet your people might defended be
 By the good zeale of old deuotion.
 For if your hands did Pallas gift defile, 240
 To Priams realm great mischef shold befall;
 Which fate the gods first on him self return!
 But had your owne handes brought it in your town,
 Asie should passe, and carrie offred war
 In Grece, euen to the walles of Pelops town, 245
 And we and oures that destenie endure.’
 By such like wiles of Sinon, the forsworne,
 His tale with vs did purchase credit; some,
 Trapt by deceite; some, forced by his teres;
 Whom neither Diomedes, nor great Achille, 250
 Nor ten yeres war, ne a thousand saile could daunt.
 Us caitifes then a far more dredful chaunce
 Befell, that trobled our vnarmed brestes.
 Whiles Laocon, that chosen was by lot
 Neptunus priest, did sacrifice a bull 255
 Before the holy altar, sodenly
 From Tenedon, behold! in circles great

By the calme seas come fletyng adders twaine,
 Which plied towardes the shore—I lothe to tell—
 With rered brest lift vp aboue the seas; 260
 Whose bloody crestes aloft the waues were seen.
 The hinder part swame hidden in the flood;
 Their grisly backes were linked manifold.
 With sound of broken waues they gate the strand,
 With gloing eyen, tainted with blood and fire; 265
 Whoes waltring tongs did lick their hissing mouthes.
 We fled away, our face the blood forsoke;
 But they with gate direct to Lacon ran.
 And first of all eche serpent doth enwrap
 The bodies small of his two tender sonnes, 270
 Whoes wretched limes they byt, and fed theron.
 Then raught they hym, who had his wepon caught
 To rescue them; twise winding him about,
 With folded knottes and circled taites, his wast;
 Their scaled backes did compasse twise his neck, 275
 Wyth rered heddes aloft and stretched throtes.
 He with his handes straue to vnloose the knottes,
 Whose sacred fillettes all be sprinkled were
 With filth of gory blod, and venim rank,
 And to the sterres such dredfull shoutes he sent, 280
 Like to the sound the roring bull fourth loowes,
 Which from the halter wounded doth astart,
 The swaruing axe when he shakes from his neck.
 The serpent twain with hasted traile they glide
 To Pallas temple, and her towres of heichte; 285
 Under the feete of which the goddesse stern,
 Hidden behinde her targettes bosse they crept.
 New gripes of dred then pearse our trembling brestes.
 They sayd Lacons desertes had derely bought
 His hainous dede, that pearced had with stele 290
 The sacred bulk, and throwen the wicked launce.
 The people cried with sondry greeing shouts
 To bring the horse to Pallas temple bliue,
 In hope thereby the goddesse wrath tappease.
 We cleft the walles and closures of the towne, 295
 Whereto all helpe, and vnder set the feet
 With sliding rolles, and bound his neck with ropes.
 This fatall gin thus ouerclambe our walles,
 Stuft with armed men; about the which there ran
 Children and maides, that holly carolles sang; 300
 And well were they whoes hands might touch the cordes.

With thretning chere thus slided through our town
 The subtil tree, to Pallas temple ward.
 O natie land! Ilion! and of the goddes
 The mansion place! O warrlik walles of Troy! 305
 Fowr times it stopt in thentrie of our gate;
 Fowr times the harnesse clattred in the womb.
 But we goe on, vnsound of memorie,
 And blinded eke by rage perseuer still:
 This fatal monster in the fane we place. 310
 Cassandra then, inspired with Phebus sprite,
 Her prophetes lippes, yet neuer of vs leeued,
 Disclosed eft; forespeking thinges to come.
 We wretches, loe! that last day of our life
 With bowes of fest the town and temples deck. 315
 With this the skie gan whirle about the sphere;
 The cloudy night gan thicken from the sea,
 With mantells spred that cloked earth and skies,
 And eke the treason of the Grekish guile.
 The watchemen lay disperst, to take their rest, 320
 Whoes werried limes sound slepe had then oppreste.
 When, well in order comes the Grecian fleet
 From Tenedon, toward the costes well knowne,
 By frendly silence of the quiet moone.
 When the kinges ship put fourth his mark of fire, 325
 Sinon, preserued by froward destinie,
 Let forth the Grekes enclosed in the womb;
 The closures eke of pine by stealth vnpind,
 Whereby the Grekes restored were to aire.
 With ioy down hasting from the hollow tree, 330
 With cordes let down did slide vnto the ground
 The great captaines: Sthenel, and Thesander,
 The fierce Ulisses, Athamas, and Thoas;
 Machaon first, then king Menolae;
 Opeas eke that did the engin forge; 335
 And streight inuade the town yburied then
 With wine and slepe. And first the watch is slain;
 Then gates vnfold to let their fellowes in;
 They ioyned themselues with the coniured bandes.
 It was the time when, graunted from the godds, 340
 The first slepe crepes most swete in wery folk.
 Loe! in my dreame before mine eies, me thought
 With rufull chere I sawe where Hector stood,
 Out of whoes eies there gushed streames of teares,
 Drawn at a cart as he of late had be, 345

Distained with bloody dust, whoes feet were bowlnē
 With the streight cordes wherwith they haled him.
 Ay me, what one! that Hector how vnlike,
 Which erst returnd clad with Achilles spoiles;
 Or when he threw into the Grekish shippes 350
 The Troian flame! so was his beard defiled,
 His crisped lockes al clustred with his blood,
 With all such wounds, as many he receiued
 About the walls of that his natiue town!
 Whome franckly thus me thought I spake vnto, 355
 With bitter teres and dolefull deadly voice:
 'O Troyan light! O only hope of thine!
 What lettes so long thee staid? or from what costes,
 Our most desired Hector, doest thou come?
 Whom, after slaughter of thy many frends, 360
 And trauaiil of the people, and thy town,
 Alweried, lord, how gladly we behold!
 What sory chaunce hath staind thy liuely face?
 Or why see I these woundes, alas! so wide?'
 He answeard nought, nor in my vain demaundes 365
 Abode, but from the bottom of his brest
 Sighing, he sayd: 'Flee, flee, O goddesse son,
 And saue thee from the furie of this flame!
 Our enmies now ar maisters of their walles,
 And Troye town now falleth from the top. 370
 Sufficeth that is done for Priams reigne.
 If force might serue to succor Troye town,
 This right hand well mought haue ben her defense.
 But Troye now commendeth to thy charge
 Her holy reliques, and her priuy gods. 375
 Them ioyne to thee, as felowes of thy fate.
 Large walles rere thow for them; for so thou shalt,
 After time spent in thouerwandred flood.'
 This sayd, he brought fourth Vesta in his hands,
 Her fillettes eke, and euerlasting flame. 380
 In this meane while, with diuerse plaint the town
 Throughout was spred; and lowder more and more
 The din resounded, with rattling of armes;
 Although mine old father Anchises house
 Remoued stood, with shadow hid of trees. 385
 I waked; therwith to the house top I clambe,
 And harkning stood I; like as when the flame
 Lightes in the corne, by drift of boisteous winde;

Or the swift stream, that driueth from the hill,
 Rootes vp the feldes, and presseth the ripe corne 390
 And plowed ground, and ouerwhelmes the groue,
 The silly herdman all astonniéd standes,
 From the hye rock while he doth here the sound.

Then the Grekes faith, then their deceit appered.
 Of Deiphobus the palace large and great 395
 Fell to the ground, all ouerspred with flash;
 His next neighbour Ucalegon afire;
 The Sygean seas did glister all with flame.
 Upsprang the crye of men, and trompettes blast.
 Then, as distraught, I did my armure on, 400
 Ne could I tell yet whereto armes auailde.
 But with our feres to throng out from the preasse
 Toward the toure, our hartes brent with desire.
 Wrath prickt vs fourth, and vnto vs it semed
 A semely thing to dye, armd in the feld. 405

Wherewith Panthus, scapte from the Grekish dartes,
 Otreus sonne, Phebus prest, brought in hand
 The sacred reliques and the vanquisht gods,
 And in his hand his litle nephew led;
 And thus, as phrentik, to our gates he ran. 410
 'Panthus,' quod I, 'in what estate stand we?
 Or for refuge what fortresse shall we take?'
 Scarse spake I this, when wailing thus he sayd:
 'The later day and fate of Troye is come;
 The which no plaint or prayer may auaille. 415
 Troyans we were, and Troye was sometime,
 And of great fame the Teucrian glorie erst;
 Fierce Joue to Grece hath now transposed all.
 The Grekes ar lordes ouer this fired town.
 Yonder huge horse that stands amid our walles 420
 Sheds armed men; and Sinon, victor now,
 With scorne of vs doth set all things on flame.
 And, rushed in at our vnfolded gates
 Are thousands moe than euer came from Greece.
 And some with weapons watch the narrow stretes, 425
 With bright swerdes drawn, to slaughter redy bent.
 And scarce the watches of the gate began
 Them to defend, and with blinde fight resist.'

Through Panthus words & lightning of the gods,
 Amid the flame and armes ran I in preasse, 430
 As furie guided me, and wher as I had heard
 The crye greatest that made the ayre resound.

Into our band then fell old Iphytus,
 And Rypheus, that met vs by moonelight;
 Dymas and Hypanis ioyning to our side, 435
 With yong Chorebus, Mygdonius son;
 Which in those dayes at Troye did ariue,
 Burning with rage of dame Cassandraes loue,
 In Priams ayd and rescue of his town.
 Unhappy he! that wold no credit geue 440
 Unto his spouses woords of prophecie.

Whom when I saw assembled in such wise,
 So desperatly the battail to desire,
 Then futhermore thus sayd I vnto them:
 'O ye yong men, of courage stout in vaine, 445
 For nought ye striue to saue the burning town.
 What cruel fortune hath betid, ye see;
 The gods out of the temples all ar fled,
 Through whoes might long this empire was mainteind;
 Their altares eke are left both wast and voyd. 450
 But if your will be bend with me to proue
 That vttermost that now may vs befall,
 Then let vs dye, and runne amid our foes;
 To vanquisht folk, despeir is only hope.'

With this the yongmens courage did encrease, 455
 And through the dark, like to the rauening wolues
 Whom raging furie of their empty mawes
 Driues from their den, leauing with hungry throthes
 Their whelpes behinde, among our foes we ran,
 Upon their swerdes, vnto apparant death; 460
 Holding alway the chiefe strete of the town,
 Couerd with the close shadowes of the night.

Who can expresse the slaughter of that night,
 Or tell the nomber of the corpses slaine,
 Or can in teres bewaile them worthely? 465
 The auncient famous citie falleth down,
 That many yeres did hold such seignorie.
 With senslesse bodies euery strete is spred,
 Eche palace, and sacred porch of the gods.
 Nor yet alone the Troyan blood was shed. 470
 Manhood oft times into the vanquisht brest
 Returnes, wherby some victors Grekes ar slain,
 Cruel complaintes, and terror euery where,
 And plentie of grisly pictures of death.

And first with vs Androgeus there met, 475
 Fellowed with a swarming rout of Grekes,

Deeming vs, unware, of that feloship,
 With frendly words whom thus he cald vnto:
 'Hast ye, my frendes, what slouth hath taried yow?
 Your feers now sack and spoile the burning Troy; 480
 From the tall ships where ye but newly come!
 When he had sayd and heard no answer made
 To him againe, wherto he might geue trust,
 Finding himself chaunced amid his foes,
 Mazde, he withdrew his foote back with his word. 485
 Like him that wandring in the bushes thick
 Tredes on the adder with his rechlesse foote,
 Rered for wrath, swelling her speckled neck,
 Dismayd, geues back al sodenly for fere;
 Androgeus so, feard of that sight, stept back, 490
 And we gan rush amid the thickest rout;
 When, here and there we did them ouerthrow,
 Striken with dred, vnskilfull of the place.
 Our first labor thus lucked well with vs.
 Chorebus then, encouraged by this chaunce, 495
 Reiouysing sayd: 'Hol fourth the way of health,
 My feers, that hap and manhod hath vs taught.
 Change we our shields; the Grekes armes do we on.
 Craft or manhod with foes what reckes it which?
 The slaine to vs their armure they shall yeld.' 500
 And with that word Androgeus crested helme
 And the rich armes of his shield did he on;
 A Grekish swerd he girded by his side.
 Like gladly Dimas and Ripheus did;
 The whole youth gan them clad in the new spoiles. 505
 Mingle with Grekes, for no good luck to vs,
 We went, and gaue many onsets that night,
 And many a Greke we sent to Plutoes court.
 Other there fled and hasted to their ships,
 And to their costes of sauegard ran againe. 510
 And some there were, for shamefull cowardrie,
 Clambe vp againe vnto the hugie horse,
 And did them hide in his wellknownen womb.
 Ay me! bootelesse it is for any whight
 To hope on ought against will of the gods. 515
 Loe! where Cassandra, Priams daughter dere,
 From Pallas chirch was drawn with sparkled tresse,
 Lifting in vain her flaming eyen to heuen;
 Her eyen, for fast her tender wrestes were bound.
 Which sight Chorebus raging could not bere, 520

Recklesse of death, but thrust amid the throng;
And after we through thickest of the swerdes.

Here were we first ybatred with the dartes
Of our owne feers, from the hye temples top;
Wherby of vs grete slaughter did ensue, 525
Mistaken by our Grekish armes and crestes.

Then flockt the Grekes moued with wrath and ire
Of the virgin from them so rescued;
The fell Ajax, and either Atrides,
And the great band cleped the Dolopes. 530

As wrastling windes, out of dispersed whirl,
Befight themselues, the west with southern blast,
And gladsom east proud of Auroraes horse;
The woods do whiz; and fomy Nereus,
Raging in furie, with three forked mace 535

From bottoms depth doth weltre vp ye seas;
So came the Grekes. And such, as by deceit
We sparkled erst in shadow of the night,
And draue about our town, appered first.
Our fained shields and weapons then they found, 540
And, by sound, our discording voice they knew.
We went to wreck with nomber ouerlayd.

And by the hand of Peneleus first
Chorebus fel before the altar dead
Of armed Pallas; and Rhipheus eke, 545
The iustest man among the Troians all
And he that best obserued equitie.

But otherwyse it pleased now the gods.
There Hipanis, and Dimas, both were slaine,
Thoughpearced with the weapons of their feers; 550
Nor thee, Panthus, when thou wast ouerthrown,
Pitie, nor zeale of good deuocion,

Nor habit yet of Phebus hid from scathe.
Ye Troyan ashes, and last flames of mine,
I cal in wnesse, that at your last fall 555
I fled no stroke of any Grekish sword,

And if the fates wold I had fallen in fight,
That with my hand I did deserue it wel.
With this from thense I was recuiled back
With Iphytus and Pelias alone; 560

Iphytus weke, and feble all for age,
Pelias lamed by Ulissee hand.
To Priams palace crye did cal vs then.
Here was the fight right hideous to behold,
As though there had no battail ben but there, 565

Or slaughter made els where throughout the town.
 A fight of rage and furie there we saw.
 The Grekes toward the palace rushed fast
 And, couerd with engines, the gates beset,
 And rered vp ladders against the walles ; 570
 Under the windowes scaling by their steppes,
 Fenced with sheldes in their left hands, whereon
 They did receiue the dartes ; while their right hands
 Griped for hold thembatel of the wall.
 The Troyans on the tother part rend down 575
 The turrets hye and eke the palace roofe ;
 With such weapons they shope them to defend,
 Seing al lost, now at the point of death.
 The gilt sparres and the beames then threw they down,
 Of old fathers the proud and royal workes. 580
 And with drawn swerds some did beset the gates,
 Which they did watch, and kepe in routes full thick.
 Our sprites restorde to rescue the kings house,
 To help them, and to geue the vanquisht strength.
 A postern with a blinde wicket there was, 585
 A common trade to passe through Priams house,
 On the back side wherof wast houses stood ;
 Which way eftsithes, while that our kingdome dured,
 Thinfortunate Andromache alone
 Resorted to the parentes of her make, 590
 With young Astyanax, his grandsire to see.
 Here passed I vp to the hiest toure,
 From whence the wretched Troyans did throw down
 Darts, spent in waste. Unto a turret then
 We stept, the which stood in a place aloft, 595
 The top wherof did reache wellnere the sterres,
 Where we were wont all Troye to behold,
 The Grekish nauie, and their tentes also.
 With instrumentes of iron gan we pick,
 To seke where we might finde the ioyning shronk 600
 From that high seat ; which we razed, and threw down ;
 Which falling, gaue fourthwith a rushing sound,
 And large in breadth on Grekish routes it light.
 But sone an other sort stept in theyr stede ;
 No stone vnthrown, nor yet no dart uncast. 605
 Before the gate stood Pyrrhus in the porche
 Reiousing in his dartes, with glittering armes ;
 Like to the adder with venimous herbes fed,
 Whom cold winter all bolne hid vnder ground,
 And shining bright, when she her slough had slong, 610

Her slipper back doth rowle, with forked tong
 And raised brest lift vp against the sun.
 With that together came great Periphas;
 Automedon eke, that guided had sometime
 Achilles horse, now Pyrrhus armure bare;
 615 And eke with him the warlike Scyrian youth
 Assayld the house, and threw flame to the top.
 And he an axe before the formest raught,
 Wherwith he gan the strong gates hew and break.
 From whence he bet the staples out of brasse,
 620 He brake the barres, and through the timber pearst
 So large a hole, wherby they might discern
 The house, the court, the secret chambers eke
 Of Priamus and auncient kings of Troy,
 And armed foes in thentrie of the gate.
 625

But the palace within confounded was
 With wayling, and with rufull shrikes and cryes;
 The hollow halles did howle of womens plaint;
 The clamor strake vp to the golden sterres.
 The frayd mothers, wandring through the wide house,
 630 Embracing pillers, did them hold and kisse.
 Pyrrhus assaileth with his fathers might,
 Whom the closures ne keepers might hold out.
 With often pushed ram the gate did shake;
 The postes beat down, remoued from their hookes;
 635 By force they made the way, and thentrie brake.
 And now the Grekes let in, the formest slew,
 And the large palace with soldiars gan to fill.
 Not so fercely doth ouerflow the feldes
 The foming flood, that brekes out of his banks,
 640 Whoes rage of waters beares away what heapes
 Stand in his way, the coates, and eke the herdes,
 As in thentrie of slaughter furious
 I saw Pyrrhus and either Atrides.

There Hecuba I saw, with a hundred moe
 645 Of her sons wyues, and Priam at the altar,
 Sprinkling with blood his flame of sacrifice.
 Fiftie bedchambers of his childrens wyues,
 With losse of so great hope of his ofspring,
 The pillers eke proudly beset with gold
 650 And with the spoiles of other nations,
 Fell to the ground; and whatso that with flame
 Untouched was, the Grekes did all possesse.

Parcase yow wold ask what was Priams fate?

When of his taken town he saw the chaunce, 655
 And the gates of his palace beaten down,
 His foes amid his secret chambers eke,
 Thold man in vaine did on his sholders then,
 Trembling for age, his curace long disused,
 His bootelesse swerd he girded him about, 660
 And ran amid his foes, redy to dye.

Amid the court, vnder the heuen, all bare,
 A great altar there stood, by which there grew
 An old laurel tree, bowing therunto,
 Which with his shadow did embrace the gods. 665
 Here Hecuba, with her yong daughters all,
 About the altar swarmed were in vaine,
 Like doues that flock together in the storme;
 The statues of the gods embracing fast.
 But when she saw Priam had taken there 670
 His armure, like as though he had ben yong,
 'What furious thought, my wretched spouse,' quod she,
 'Did moue thee now such wepons for to weld?
 Why hastest thou? This time doth not require
 Such succor, ne yet such defenders now; 675
 No, though Hector my son were here againe.
 Come hether; this altar shall saue vs all,
 Or we shall dye together.' Thus she sayd.
 Wherwith she drew him back to her, and set
 The aged man down in the holy seat. 680

But loe! Polites, one of Priams sons,
 Escaped from the slaughter of Pyrrhus,
 Comes fleing through the wepons of his foes,
 Searching, all wounded, the long galleries
 And the voyd courtes; whom Pyrrhus, all in rage, 685
 Followed fast to reache a mortal wound;
 And now in hand, well nere strikes with his spere.
 Who fleing fourth till he came now in sight
 Of his parentes, before their face fell down
 Yelding the ghost, with flowing streames of blood. 690
 Priamus then, although he were half ded,
 Might not kepe in his wrath, nor yet his words,
 But cryeth out: 'For this thy wicked work,
 And boldnesse eke such thing to enterprise,
 If in the heauens any iustice be 695
 That of such things takes any care or kepe,
 According thanks the gods may yeld to thee
 And send thee eke thy iust deserued hyre,

That made me see the slaughter of my childe,
 And with his blood defile the fathers face. 700
 But he, by whom thou faintest thyself begot,
 Achilles, was to Priam not so stern.
 For loe! he tendering my most humble sute
 The right and faith, my Hector's bloodlesse corps
 Rendred, for to be layd in sepulture, 705
 And sent me to thy kingdome home again.'
 Thus sayd the aged man, and therewithall
 Forcelesse he cast his weak vnweldy dart,
 Which, repulst from the brasse where it gaue dint,
 Without sound hong vainly in the shieldes bosse. 710
 Quod Pyrrhus: 'Then thou shalt this thing report:
 On message to Pelide my father go,
 Shew vnto him my cruel dedes, and how
 Neoptolem is swarued out of kinde.
 Now shalt thou dye,' quod he. And with that word, 715
 At the altar him trembling gan he draw,
 Wallowing through the blodshed of his son;
 And his left hand all clasped in his heare,
 With his right arme drewe fourth his shining sword,
 Which in his side he thrust vp to the hilts. 720
 Of Priamus this was the fatal fine,
 The wofull end that was allotted him,
 When he had seen his palace all on flame,
 With ruine of his Troyan turrets eke.
 That royal prince of Asie, which of late 725
 Reignd ouer so many peoples and realmes,
 Like a great stock now lieth on the shore;
 His hed and shoulders parted ben in twaine,
 A body now without renome and fame.
 Then first in me entred the grisly feare; 730
 Dismayd I was. Wherwith came to my minde
 The image eke of my dere father, when
 I thus beheld the king of equal age
 Yeld vp the sprite with wounds so cruelly.
 Then thought I of Creusa left alone, 735
 And of my house in danger of the spoile,
 And the estate of young Iulus eke.
 I looked back to seke what number then
 I might discern about me of my feeres,
 But wried they had left me all alone. 740

Some to the ground were lopen from aboue,
 Some in the flame their irked bodies cast.

There was no moe but I left of them all,
 When that I saw in Uestaes temple sit
 Dame Helen, lurking in a secret place,— 745

Such light the flame did giue as I went by,
 While here and there I cast mine eyen about.
 For she in dred least that the Troians shold
 Reuenge on her the ruine of their walles;
 And of the Grekes the cruel wrekes also, 750
 The furie eke of her forsaken make;
 The common bane of Troy and eke of Grece,
 Hateful she sate beside the altars hid.

Then boyld my brest with flame and burning wrath
 To reuenge my town, vnto such ruine brought; 755
 With worthy peines on her to work my will.

Thought I: 'Shall she passe to the land of Spart
 All safe and see Mycene her natie land,
 And like a quene returne with victorie

Home to her spouse, her parentes, and children, 760
 Folowed with a traine of Troyan maides,
 And serued with a band of Phrigian slaues;

And Priam eke with iron murdred thus,
 And Troy town consumed all with flame,
 Whoes shore hath ben so oft forbathed in blood? 765

No! no! for though on women the reuenge
 Unsemely is, such conquest hath no fame,
 To geue an end vnto such mischief yet

My iust reuenge shal merit worthy praise;
 And quiet eke my minde for to be wroke 770
 On her which was the causer of this flame,
 And satisfie the cinder of my feers.'

With furious minde while I did argue thus,
 My blessed mother then appeard to me,
 Whom erst so bright mine eyes had neuer seen, 775

And with pure light she glistred in the night,
 Disclosing her in forme a goddesse like,
 As she doth seme to such as dwell in heuen.

My right hand then she took and held it fast,
 And with her rosie lips thus did she say: 780
 'Son, what furie hath thus prouoked thee

To such vntamed wrath? what ragest thou?
 Or where is now become the care of vs?
 Wilt thou not first go see where thou hast left

Anchises, thy father fordone with age? 785

Doth Creusa liue, and Ascanius thy son?
 Whom now the Grekish bands haue round beset,
 And were they not defended by my cure,
 Flame had them raught and enmies swerd ere this.
 Not Helens beautie hatefull vnto thee, 790
 Nor blamed Paris yet, but the gods wrath
 Reft yow this wealth, and ouerthrew your town.
 Behold,—and I shall now the cloude remoue,
 Which ouercast thy mortal sight doth dim,
 Whoes moisture doth obscure all thinges about; 795
 And fere not thow to do thy mothers will,
 Nor her aduise refuse thow to performe—
 Here, where thow seest the turrets ouerthrown,
 Stone bet from stone, smoke rising mixt with dust,
 Neptunus there shakes with his mace the walles 800
 And eke the loose foundations of the same,
 And ouerwhelms the whole town from his seat.
 And cruell Iuno with the formest here
 Doth kepe the gate that Scea cleped is,
 Nere wood for wrath, whereas she standes, and calls 805
 In harnesse bright the Grekes out of their ships.
 And in the turrets hye behold where standes
 Bright shining Pallas, all in warlike wede,
 And with her shield, where Gorgons hed apperes.
 And Iupiter, my father, distributes 810
 Auayling strength and courage to the Grekes;
 Yet ouermore, against the Troyan powr
 He doth prouoke the rest of all the gods.
 Flee then, my son, and geue this trauail end;
 Ne shall I thee forsake, in sauegard till 815
 I haue thee brought vnto thy fathers gate.
 This did she say and therwith gan she hide
 Her self in shadow of the close night.
 Then dredfull figures gan appere tō me,
 And great gods eke agreued with our town. 820
 I saw Troye fall down in burning gledes;
 Neptunus town, clene razed from the soil.
 Like as the elm forgrown in mountaines hye,
 Rond hewen with axe, that husbandmen
 With thick assautes striue to teare vp, doth threat; 825
 And hackt beneath trembling doth bend his top,
 Till yold with strokes, geuing the latter crack,
 Rent from the heighth, with ruine it doth fall.

With this I went, and guided by a god
 I passed through my foes, and eke the flame; 830
 Their wepons and the fire eke gaue me place.
 And when that I was come before the gates
 And auncient building of my fathers house,
 My father, whom I hoped to conuey
 To the next hils and did him thearto treat, 835
 Refused either to prolong his life,
 Or bide exile after the fall of Troy.
 'All ye', quod he, 'in whom yong blood is fresh,
 Whose strength remaines entier and in ful powr
 Take ye your flight. 840
 For if the gods my life wold have proroged,
 They had reserued for me this winning place.
 It was enough, alas! and eke to much,
 To see the town of Troy thus razed ones;
 To have liued after the citee taken. 845
 When ye haue sayd, this corps layd out forsake;
 My hand shall seke my death, and pitie shal
 Mine enmies moue, or els hope of my spoile.
 As for my graue, I wey the losse but light,
 For I my yeres, disdainfull to the gods, 850
 Haue lingred fourth, vnable to all nedes,
 Sins that the sire of gods and king of men
 Strake me with thonder and with leuening blast.'
 Such things he gan reherse, thus firmly bent.
 But we besprent with teres, my tender son, 855
 And eke my swete Creusa, with the rest
 Of the houshold, my father gan beseche
 Not so with him to perish all at ones,
 Nor so to yeld vnto the cruel fate;
 Which he refused, and stack to his entent. 860
 Driuen I was to harnesse then againe,
 Miserably my death for to desire.
 For what aduise or other hope was left?
 'Father! thoughtst thou that I may ones remoue,'
 Quod I, 'a foote, and leaue thee here behinde? 865
 May such a wrong passe from a fathers mouth?
 If gods will be that nothing here be saued
 Of this great town, and thy minde bent to ioyne
 Both thee and thine to ruine of this town,
 The way is plaine this death for to atteine. 870
 Pyrrhus shall come besprent with Priams blood,
 That gored the son before the fathers face

- And slew the father at the altar eke.
 O sacred mother! was it then for this
 That you me led through flame and wepons sharp, 875
 That I might in my secret chaumber see
 Mine enmies; and Ascanius my son,
 My father, with Creusa my swete wife,
 Murdred, alas! the one in thothers blood?
 Why, seruants, then, bring my my armes againe; 880
 The latter day vs vanquished doth call.
 Render me now to the Grekes sight againe,
 And let me see the fight begon of new;
 We shall not all vnwroken dye this day.^a
 About me then I girt my sword again, 885
 And eke my shield on my left sholder cast,
 And bent me so to rush out of the house.
 Lo! in my gate my spouse, clasping my feet,
 Foregainst his father yong Iulus set.
 'If thou wilt go,' quod she, 'and spill thy self, 890
 Take vs with thee in all that may betide.
 But as expert if thou in armes haue set
 Yet any hope, then first this house defend,
 Whearas thy son, and eke thy father dere,
 And I, sometime thine owne dere wife, ar left.' 895
 Her shrill loud voice with plaint thus filled the house,
 When that a sodein monstrous maruel fell.
 For in their sight, and woefull parents armes,
 Behold a light out of the batten sprang
 That in tip of Iulus cap did stand; 900
 With gentle touch whoes harmlesse flame did shine
 Upon his here, about his temples spread.
 And we afraid, trembling for dredfull fere,
 Bet out the fire from his blasing tresse,
 And with water gan quench the sacred flame. 905
 Anchises glad his eyen lift to the sterres;
 With handes his voice to heauen thus he bent:
 'If by praier, almighty Iupiter,
 Inclined thou mayst be, beholde vs then
 Of ruth at least; if we so much deserue, 910
 Graunt eke thine ayd, father, confirm this thing.'
 Scarse had the old man said, when that the heuens
 With sodein noise thondred on the left hand;
 Out of the skie, by the dark night there fell
 A blasing sterre, dragging a brand or flame, 915
 Which, with much light gliding on the housetop,

In the forest of Ida hid her beames ;
 The which, full bright cendleing a furrow, shone,
 By a long tract appointing vs the way ;
 And round about of brimstone rose a fume. 920

My father vanquist, then beheld the skies,
 Spake to the gods, and tholly sterre adored :
 'Now, now,' quod he, 'no longer I abide ;
 Folow I shall where ye me guide at hand.
 O native gods ! your familie defend ; 925
 Preserue your line. This warning comes of you,
 And Troy stands in your protection now.
 Now geue I place, and wherso that thou goe,
 Refuse I not, my sonne, to be thy feer.'

This did he say ; and by that time more clere 930
 The cracking flame was heard throughout the walles,
 And more and more the burning heat drew nere.
 'Why then, haue done, my father dere,' quod I,
 'Bestride my neck fourthwith, and sit thereon,
 And I shal with my sholders thee susteine, 935
 Ne shal this labor do me any dere.

What so betide, come perill, come welfare,
 Like to vs both and common there shal be.
 Yong Iulus shall beare me company,
 And my wife shal follow far of my steppes. 940
 Now ye, my seruantes, mark well what I say :
 Without the town ye shall find, on an hill,
 An old temple there standes, wheras sometime
 Worship was don to Ceres the goddesse ;
 Biside which growes an aged cipresse tree, 945
 Preserued long by our forefathers zeale.
 Behind which place let vs together mete.
 And thou, father, receiue into thy handes
 The reliques all, and the gods of the land,
 The which it were not lawfull I should touch, 950
 That come but late from slaughter and blodshed,
 Till I be washed in the running flood.'

When I had sayd these wordes, my sholders brode
 And laied neck with garmentes gan I spred,
 And theron cast a yellow lions skin ; 955
 And therupon my burden I receiue.
 Yong Iulus, clasped in my right hand,
 Followeth me fast with vnegal pace ;
 And at my back my wife. Thus did we passe
 By places shadowed most with the night. 960

And me, whom late the dart which enemies threw
 Nor preasse of Argiue routes could not amaze,
 Eche whispring wind hath power now to fray
 And euery sound to moue my doutfull mind,
 So much I dred my burden and my feer. 965

And now we gan draw nere vnto the gate,
 Right well escape the daunger, as me thought,
 When that at hand a sound of feet we heard.
 My father then, gazing throughout the dark,
 Cried on me, 'Flee, son! they ar at hand.' 970
 With that bright sheldes and shene armours I saw.
 But then, I knowe not what vnfrendly god
 My trobled wit from me biraft for fere,
 For while I ran by the most secret stretes,
 Eschuing still the common haunted track, 975
 From me catif, alas! bereued was
 Creusa then, my spouse—I wote not how,
 Whether by fate, or missing of the way,
 Or that she was by werinesse reteind,
 But neuer sithe these eies might her behold;— 980
 Nor did I yet perceiue that she was lost,
 Ne neuer backward turned I my mind,
 Till we came to the hill wheras there stood
 The old temple dedicate to Ceres. 985

And when that we were there assembled all, 985
 She was only away, deceiuing vs,
 Her spouse, her son, and all her compainie.
 What god or man did I not then accuse,
 Nere wood for ire, or what more cruell chaunce
 Did hap to me, in all Troies ouerthrow? 990
 Ascanius to my feeres I then betoke,
 With Anchises, and eke the Troian gods,
 And left them hid within a valley depe.
 And to the town I gan me hye againe,
 Clad in bright armes, and bent for to renew 995
 Auentures past, to search throughout the town,
 And yeld my hed to perils ones againe.

And first the walles and dark entrie I sought
 Of the same gate wherat I issued out,
 Holding backward the steppes wher we had come 1000
 In the dark night, loking all round about.
 In euery place the vgsome sightes I saw;
 The silence selfe of night agast my sprite.
 From hense againe I past vnto our house,
 If she by chaunce had ben returned home. 1005

The Grekes were there, and had it all beset.
 The wasting fire blown vp by drift of wind
 Aboue the roofes, the blazing flame sprang vp,
 The sound wherof with furie pearst the skies.
 To Priams palace and the castel then 1010
 I made; and ther at Iunous sanctuair,
 In the void porches, Pheniz, Uliesses eke,
 Sterne guardens stood, watching of the spoile.
 The riches here were set, reft from the brent
 Temples of Troy: the table of the gods, 1015
 The vessells eke that were of massy gold,
 And vestures spoild, were gatherd all in heap.
 The children orderly, and mothers pale for fright,
 Long ranged on a rowe stode round about.
 So bold was I to shoue my voice that night, 1020
 With clepes and cries to fill the stretes throughout,
 With Creuse name in sorrow, with vain teres,
 And often sithes the same for to repete.
 The town restlesse with furie as I sought,
 Thunlucky figure of Creusaes ghost, 1025
 Of stature more than wont, stood fore mine eyen.
 Abashed then I woxe; therwith my heare
 Gan start right vp; my voice stack in my throte.
 When with such words she gan my hart remoue:
 'What helps to yeld vnto such furious rage, 1030
 Swete spouse?' quod she. 'Without wil of the gods
 This chaunced not. Ne lefull was for thee
 To lead away Creusa hense with thee;
 The king of the hye heuen suffreth it not.
 A long exile thou art assigned to bere, 1035
 Long to furrow large space of stormy seas;
 So shalt thou reach at last Hesperian land,
 Wher Lidian Tiber with his gentle streme
 Mildly doth flow along the frutfull felds.
 There mirthful wealth, there kingdom is for thee; 1040
 There a kinges child preperde to be thy make.
 For thy beloued Creusa stint thy teres,
 For now shal I not see the proud abodes
 Of Myrmidons, nor yet of Dolopes,
 Ne I, a Troyan lady, and the wife 1045
 Unto the sonne of Uenus, the goddessse,
 Shall goe a slaue to serue the Grekish dames.
 Me here the gods great mother holdes.
 And now farwell, and kepe in fathers brest
 The tender loue of thy yong son and myne.' 1050

This hauing said, she left me all in teres
And minding much to speake; but she was gone,
And suddly fled into the weightlesse aire.
Thrise raught I with mine armes taccoll her neck,
Thrise did my handes vaine hold thimage escape, 1055
Like nimble windes, and like the flieng dreame.
So night spent out, retorne I to my feers.
And ther wondring I find together swarmd
A new number of mates, mothers, and men,
A rout exiled, a wreched multitude, 1060
From eche where flockke together, prest to passe,
With-hart and goods, to whatsoeuer land
By sliding seas me listed them to lede.
And now rose Lucifer aboue the ridge
Of lusty Ide, and brought the dawning light. 1065
The Grekes held thentries of the gates beset;
Of help there was no hope. Then gaue I place,
Toke vp my sire, and hasted to the hill."

58

BOOK 4

(Tottel's Version of 1557)

But now the wounded quene, with heuy care,
 Throughout the veines she norisheth the playe,
 Surprised with blind flame; and to hir mind
 Gan eke resort the prowesse of the man
 And honour of his race; while in her brest 5
 Imprinted stack his wordes and pictures forme;
 Ne to her limmes care graunteth quiet rest.

The next morrow, with Phebus laump the earth
 Alightned clere, and eke the dawning day
 The shadowes dark gan from the poale remoue, 10
 When, all vnsound, her sister of like minde
 Thus spake she to: "O sister Ann, what dreames
 Be these, that me tormented thus afray?
 What new guest is this, that to our realme is come;
 What one of chere; how stout of hart in armes? 15

Truly I think, ne vaine is my belefe,
 Of goddish race some offspring shold he be:
 Cowardry notes hartes swarued out of kind.
 He driuen, Lord! with how hard destiny;
 What batailles eke atchiued did he recount! 20

But that my mind is fixt vnmoueably
 Neuer with wight in wedlock ay to ioyne,
 Sith my first loue me left by death disseuered,
 If geniall brands and bed me lothed not,
 To this one gilt perchaunce yet might I yeld. 25

Anne, for I graunt, sith wretched Sichees death
 My spouse and house with brothers slaughter staind,
 This onely man hath made my sences bend
 And pricked foorth the mind that gan to slide:
 Now feelingly I tast the steppes of mine old flame. 30

But first I wish the earth me swallow down,
 Or with thunder the mighty Lord me send
 To the pale gostes of hel and darknes deepe,
 Ere I thee staine, shamefastnes, or thy lawes.
 He that with me first coppled, tooke away 35
 My loue with him; enjoy it in his graue".

58

BOOK 4

(Version based upon Ms. Hargrave 205)

But now the wounded quene, with heavie care,
 Through ow't the vaines doth nowrishe ay ye plage,
 Surprised with blind flame; & to her minde
 Gan to resort the prowes of the man,
 And honour of his race; whiles in her brest 5
 Imprinted stake his wordes & forme of face;
 Ne to her lymmes care graunteth quiet rest.
 The next morowe, with Phoebus lampe the erthe
 Ylightned clere, & eke the dawninge daye
 The shadowe danke gan from the pole remove, 10
 When, all vnsownd, her sister of like minde
 Thus spake she to: "Oh sister, what dremes
 Be these that me tormenten thus afraide?
 What newcome gest vnto our realme ys come;
 What one of chere; how stowt of hart in armes? 15
 Truelie I thinke, ne vaine ys my beleife,
 Of goddishe race some of springe shuld he seeme:
 Cowardie noteth hartes swarved ow't of kinde.
 He driven, Lord! with how hard destinie;
 What battells eke atcheived did he tell! 20
 & but my mind war fixt vnmovablie
 Never with wight in weddlocke for to joine,
 Sithe my first love me left by deth disseverid,
 Yf bridall bowndes & bed me lothed not,
 To this one fawlt perchaunce yet might I yeld. 25
 For I wyll graunt, sithe wretched Syches dethe
 My spouse & howse with brother slaughter stand,
 This onelie man hath made my senses bend
 & pricke the furthe the minde that gan to slide:
 Felenglie I tast the steppes of mine old flame. 30
 But first I wishe the erth me swallowe downe,
 Or with thunder the mightie Lord me send
 To the pale gostes of hell and darkness depe,
 Or I the stayne, shamefastnes, or thi lawes.
 He that with me first coopled, tooke awaie 35
 My love, which still enioye he in his grave."

Thus did she say, and with suppressed teares
 Bained her brest. Wherto Anne thus replied:
 "O sister, dearer beloved then the lyght,
 Thy youth alone in plaint still wilt thou spill? 40
 Ne children sweete, ne Venus giftes wilt know?
 Cinders, thinkest thou, mind this, or graued ghostes?
 Time of thy doole, thy spouse new dead, I graunt
 None might the moue: no, not the Libian king,
 Nor yet of Tirc; Iarbas set so light, 45
 And other princes mo, whom the rich soile
 Of Affrick breedes, in hounours triumphant.
 Wilt thou also gainstand thy liked loue?
 Comes not to mind vpon whoes land thou dwelst?
 On this side, loe! the Getule town behold, 50
 A people bold, vnvanquished in warre;
 Eke the vndaunted Numides compasse thee;
 Also the Sirtes vnfrendly harbroughe.
 On thother hand, a desert realme for thirst,
 The Barceans, whose fury stretcheth wide. 55
 What shall I touch the warres that moue from Tirc,
 Or yet thy brothers threatens?
 By gods purueiaunce it blewe, and Iunos helpe,
 The Troiaynes shippes, I think, to runn this course.
 Sister, what town shalt thou see this become? 60
 Throgh such allie how shal our kingdom rise,
 And by the aid of Troiane armes how great?
 How many waies shal Cartages glorie grow?
 Thou onely now besech the gods of grace
 By sacrifice. Which ended, to thy house 65
 Receue him, and forge causes of abode;
 Whiles winter frettes the seas, and watry Orion,
 The shippes shaken, vnfrendly the season".
 Such words enflamed the kindled mind with loue,
 Loosed al shame, and gave the doubtfull hope. 70
 And to the temples first they hast and seeke
 By sacrifice for grace, with hogreles of two yeares
 Chosen, as ought, to Ceres that gaue lawes,
 To Phebus, Bachus, and to Iuno chiefe,
 Which hath in care the bandes of mariage. 75
 Faire Dido held in her right hand the cup,
 Which twixt the hornes of a white cowe she shed
 In presence of the gods, passing before
 The aulters fatte; which she renewed oft
 With giftes that day and beastes debowled, 80

Thus did she saye, & with surprised teares
 Bayned her brest. Whereto thus An replied:
 "O sister more beloved then the light,
 Thi youth all sole in plaintes wilt thou nede spill? 40
 Ne children swete, ne Venus giftes wilt knowe?
 Cindres, thinkest thou, minde this, or graved ghostes?
 Time of thie dole, thi spouse new dedd, I graunt
 None might the moue; Iarbas not to fere,
 The Libian king dispised eke by the, 45
 & other princes moe, whom the riche soyle
 Of Aefrike brede, in honours tryvmphant.
 Wilt thou also withstand the loue that likes the?
 Come not to minde vpon whose land thou dwelst?
 On this syde, loe! the Getule towns behold, 50
 A people bold, vnnauquished in warr;
 Eke the vndaunted Numides compas the;
 Also the Syrtes vnfrindlie harboroughes.
 On tother hand the desert realme of Scythe,
 The Barceans, whose furie stretcheth wide. 55
 What shall I touch the wars that moue from Tyre,
 Or yet thie brothers threatens?
 By godes purueiaunce yt blue, & Junos helpe,
 The Troiane shippes, I thinke, to rounne this course.
 Sister, what towne shalt thou se this become? 60
 Through such alie how shall our kingdome rise,
 & by the ayde of Troiane armes how great?
 How manie waies shall Carthage glorie growe?
 Thou onelie now beseke the godes of grace
 By sacrifice. Which ended, to thie howse 65
 Receave him, & forge causes of abode;
 Whiles winter freates the seas, & watrie Orion,
 The shippes shaken, vnfrindlie the season."
 Such wordes inflamde the kindled hart with love,
 Lewsed all shame, & gaue the dowtfull hope. 70
 & to the temples fyrst thei hast & seke
 By sacrifice for grace, with hogreles of two yeares
 Chosen, as owght, to Coeres that gaue lawes,
 To Phoebus, Bacchus, & to Juno cheif,
 Which hath in care the bandes of mariage. 75
 Fair Dido held in her right hand the cupp,
 Which twixt the hornes of a white cowe she shedd
 In presence of the godes, passing before
 The aultres tall, which she renued ofte
 With giftes that daye & bestes deboweled, 80

- Gasing for counsell on the entrales warme.
 Ay me, vnskilfull mindes of prophesy!
 Temples or vowes, what boote they in her rage?
 A gentle flame the mary doth deuoure,
 Whiles in the brest the silent wound keepes life. 85
 Unhappy Dido burns, and in her rage
 Throughout the town she wandreth vp and down;
 Like to the stricken hinde with shaft in Crete,
 Throughout the woods, which, chasing with his dartes,
 Aloofe, the shepheard smiteth at vnwares, 90
 And leaves vnwist in her the thirling head,
 That through the groues and landes glides in her flight,
 Amid whose side the mortall arrow stickes.
 Aeneas now about the walles she leades,
 The town prepared and Cartage welth to shew; 95
 Offring to speak, amid her voice, she whistes.
 And when the day gan faile, new feastes she makes;
 The Troies trauals to heare anew she listes,
 Inraged al, and stareth in his face
 That tels the tale. And when they were al gone, 100
 And the dimme mone doth eft withhold the light,
 And sliding starres prouoked vnto sleepe,
 Alone she mournes within her palace voide,
 And sets her down on her forsaken bed,
 And absent him she heares, when he is gone, 105
 And seeth eke. Oft in her lappe she holdes
 Ascanius, trapt by his fathers forme,
 So to begile the loue cannot be told.
 The turrets now arise not, erst begonne;
 Neither the youth weldes armes, nor they auaunce 110
 The portes, nor other mete defence for warr.
 Broken there hang the workes and mighty frames
 Of walles high raised, threatening the skie.
 Whom as soone as Ioues deare wife saw infect
 With such a plage, ne fame resist the rage, 115
 Saturnes daughter thus burdes Venus then:
 "Great praise", quod she, "and worthy spoiles you win,
 You and your son, great gods of memory,
 By both your wiles one woman to deuower.
 Yet am I not deceiued, that foreknew 120
 Ye dread our walles and bildinges gan suspect
 Of high Cartage. But what shalbe the ende?

- Gasing for cownsell on the thentrailes warme.
 Ay me, vnskillfull myndes of prophetise!
 Alas, blind mindes of prophetes! what awayle
 Temples or vowes, what booten thei in rage?
 A gentle flame the marie doth devower, 85
 Whiles in the brest the sylent wound kepeth life.
 Vnhappi Dido burnes, & in her rage
 Throwgh owt the towne she wandreth vp & downe;
 Like to the stryken hinde with shafte in Crete,
 Throwgh owt the woodes, which, chasing with his dartes, 90
 Aloofe, the shepard smyteth at vnwares,
 & leaves vnwiste in her the thirling hedd,
 That throwgh the groves & laundes glides in her flight,
 Amidd whose syde the mortall arrowe stykes.
 Aeneas now abowt the walls she leades, 95
 The towne preparte & Carthage welth to shoue;
 Offring to speake, amidd her voice, she whistes.
 & when the daye gan fayle, new feastes she makes;
 The Troiane trauailes to here anew she listes,
 Enraged all, & stareth in his face 100
 That tells the tale. And when thei war all gone,
 & the dymme moone repressed the daie light,
 & slidinge sterres provoked vnto slepe,
 Alone she moornth within her palaice voide,
 & settes her downe on her for saken bedd, 105
 & absent him she heres, when he is gone,
 & seithe eke. Ofte in her lappe she holds
 Askanius, trapte by his fathers fourme,
 To proue if she might so beguile her loue.
 The turretes now arise not, erst begoune; 110
 Nether the youth weeldes armes, nor they auance
 The port, nor other mete defence for warr.
 Broken thei hang, the workes & mightie frames
 Of walls hie raised, sthretching to the skie.
 Whom as soone as Ioves dere wife saw infect 115
 With such a plague, ne fame resist the rage,
 Saturnus dowghter bourdes thus with Venus than:
 "Great praise", quod she, "& worthie spoiles ye winne,
 You & your sonn, great godes of memorie,
 By bothe your wiles one woman to devower. 120
 Yet am I not deceyved, that foreknew
 Ye dredd our walles & buyldinges did suspect
 Of hie Carthage. But what shalbe the end?

Or wherunto now serueth such debate?
 But rather peace and bridale bandes knit we,
 Sith thou hast spede of that thy heart desired. 125
 Dido doth burne with loue, rage fretes her boones.
 This people now, as common to vs both,
 With equal fauour let vs gouerne then.
 Lefull be it to serue a Troian sprouse;
 And Tirianes yeld to thy right hand in drowre." 130
 To whom Venus replied thus, that knewe
 Her wordes proceded from a fained minde,
 To Libian coastes to turne thempire from Rome:
 "What wight so fond such offer to refuse?
 Or yet with thee had leuer striue in warr? 135
 So be it fortune thy tale bring to effect.
 But destinies I dout, least Ioue nill graunt
 That folke of Tirc, and such as came from Troie,
 Should hold one town; or graunt these nacions
 Mingled to be, or ioyned ay in leage. 140
 Thou art his wife; lefull it is for the
 For to attempt his fansie by request.
 Passe on before and folow the I shall".
 Quene Iuno then thus tooke her tale againe:
 "This trauaile be it mine. But by what meane, 145
 Marke, in fewe wordes I shal thee lerne eftsones,
 This worke in hand may now be compassed.
 Aeneas now, and wretched Dido eke,
 To the forest a hunting minde to wende
 To morne, as soon as Titan shall ascend, 150
 And with his beames hath ouerspred the world.
 And whiles the winges of youth do swarm about,
 And whiles they raunge to ouer set the groues,
 A cloudie showr, mingled with haile, I shall
 Poure down, and then with thonder shake the skies. 155
 Thasseemble scattered, the mist shall cloke.
 Dido a caue, the Troyan prince the same
 shall enter to, and I will be at hand.
 And if thy will sticke vnto mine, I shall
 In wedlocke sure knit and make her his own: 160
 Thus shall the maryage be." To whose request
 Without debate Venus did seme to yeld,
 And smyled soft, as she that found the wyle.
 Then from the seas the dawning gan arise.

Or whervnto now serveth such debate?
 But rather peace & brydall bondes knitt we, 125
 Syth thou hast spedd of that thie hart desyred.
 Dido doth burne, the rage her bones doth perse.
 The people now then common to vs bothe;
 With egall favour so lett vs governe them.
 Lefull be it to serve a Troiane spouse; 130
 & Tyrians yeld to thie right hand in dower."

To whom Venus replied thus, that knew
 Her wordes proceded from a fayned minde,
 To Lybian costes to turne the prince from Rome:
 "What wight so fond such offer to refuse? 135
 Or yet with the had lever lyve in warr?
 So be it fortune thi tale bring to effect.
 But destenies I dowte, lest Jove will graunt
 That folke of Tyer, & such as came from Troie,
 Shuld hold one towne; or graunt these nations 140
 Mingled to be, or joined aye in league.
 Thou art his wief; lefull yt is for the
 For to attempt his fancie by request.
 Passe on before & followe the I shall."

Quene Juno then tooke thus her tale againe: 145
 "This travaile be yt mine. But by what meane,
 Marke, in few wordes I shall the lerne eftsones,
 This work in hand maie now be compassed.
 Aeneas now, & wretched Dido eke,
 The forest till a hunting minde to wend 150
 The morow, as soone as Titan shall ascend,
 & with his beames hath overspredd the erth.

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& whiles the range doth sett the groues about,
 A clowdie shower, mingled with haile, I shall 155
 Pooer down, & then with thunder shake the skies,
 The assembles skattered, the mistes shall cloke.
 Dido the cave, the Troiane prince the same
 Shall enter too, & I wilbe at hand.

& if thie will sticke vnto mine, I shall 160
 In weddlocke suer knitt, & make her his owne:
 This shall the mariage be." To whose request
 Without debate Venus did seeme to graunt,
 & smyled softe, as she that fownd the wile.

Then from the sea the dawning gan arise. 165

The sun once vp, the chosen youth gan throng 165
 Out of the gates: the hayes so rarely knit,
 The hunting staues with their brod heads of steele,
 And of Masile the horsemen, fourth they brake;
 Of senting houndes a kenel hugh likewise.
 And at the threshold of her chaumber dore 170
 The Carthage lords did on the quene attend;
 The trampling steede, with gold and purple trap,
 Chawing the fomie bit, there fercely stood.
 Then issued she, awayted with great train,
 Clad in a cloke of Tyre embradred riche. 175
 Her quyuer hung behinde her backe, her tresse
 Knotted in gold, her purple vesture eke
 Butned with gold. The Troyans of her train
 Before her go, with gladsom Iulus.
 Aeneas eke, the goodliest of the route, 180
 Makes one of them, and ioyneth close the throngs.
 Like when Apollo leaueth Lycia,
 His wintring place, and Xanthus floods likewise,
 To viset Delos, his mothers mansion,
 Repairing eft, and furnishing her quire, 185
 The Candians and folkes of Driopes,
 With painted Agathysies, shoute and crye,
 Enuironing the alters roundabout,
 When that he walks vpon mount Cynthus top,
 His sparkled tresse repress with garlandes soft 190
 Of tender leaues, and trussed vp in gold,
 His quiuering dartes clattring behinde his back:
 So fresh and lustie did Aeneas seme,
 Such lordly port in present countenance.
 But to the hils and wilde holtes when they came, 195
 From the rocks top the driuen sauage rose.
 Loe! from the hill aboue, on thother side,
 Through the wyde lawnds they gan to take their course.
 The harts likewise, in troupes taking their flight,
 Raising the dust, the mountain fast forsake. 200
 The childe Iulus, blithe of his swift steede,
 Amids the plain now pricks by them, now thes,
 And to encounter wisheth oft in minde
 The foming bore, in steede of ferefull beasts,
 Or lion brown might from the hill descend. 205
 In the meane while the skies gan rumble sore;
 In tayle thereof a mingled showr with hayle.

The son hoist vp, the chosen youth gan throng
 Vnto the gates: the hayes so rarelie knitt,
 The hunting staves with ther brode heddes of yron,
 & of Massile the horsemen, furth thei breke;
 Of senting howndes a kennell huge likewise. 170
 & at the thressolde of her chamber dore
 The Carthage lordes did on ther quene awaite;
 The trampling steed, with gold & purple deckt,
 Feirsleie stood chawing on the fominge bitt.
 Then issued she, awaited with a trayne, 175
 Clad in a cloke of Tyre bordred full rich.
 Her quyver hong behind her backe, her tresse
 Knotted in gold, her purple vesture eke
 Butned with gold. The Troianes of her trayne
 Before her go, with gladsome Iulus. 180
 Aeneas eke, the goodliest of the rowt,
 Makes one of them & ioyneth close the thronges.
 Like when Apollo leaveth Licia,
 His wintring place, & Xanthus fluddes likewise,
 To se Delos, his mothers mansion, 185
 For to repayer & furnishe new her quyer,
 The Cretians & folke of Driopes,
 & painted Agathirth, do howle & crie,
 Environninge the aulters rownd about,
 When that he walkes vpon mownt Cynthus topp, 190
 His sparkled tresse repress with garlandes softe
 Of tender bowes, & tressed vp in golde,
 His quyver dartes clattringe behind his backe:
 So freshe & lustie did Aeneas seme,
 Such lordlie port in cowntenance dothe showe. 195
 But to the hills & wilde holtes when thei came,
 From the rockes toppe the wild savage rooes
 Availe the hill, & on the other syde,
 Over the laundes, thei gan to take ther course.
 The hartes likewise, in troopes taking ther flight, 200
 Raising the dust, the mountaynes fast forsoke.
 The child Iulus, blithe of his swofte steed,
 Amides the playne now prickes by them, now these,
 & to encounter wisheth ofte in minde
 The foming bore, in stedd of ferefull beastes, 205
 Or lyon browne might from the hill descend.
 In the meane while the heavens gan romble sore;
 In taylor wher of a mingled shower with haile.

The Tyrian folk, and eke the Troyans youth,
 And Venus nephew the cotage, for feare,
 Sought round about; the floods fell from the hils. 210
 Dido a den, the Troyan prince the same,
 Chaunced vpon. Our mother then, the earth,
 And Iuno that hath charge of mariage,
 First tokens gaue with burning gledes of flame,
 And, priuie to the wedlock, lightning skies; 215
 And the nymphes yelled from the mountains top.
 Ay me! this was the first day of their mirth,
 And of their harmes the first occasion eke.
 Respect of fame no longer her withholdes,
 Nor museth now to frame her loue by stelth. 220
 Wedlock she cals it; vnder the pretence
 Of which fayre name she cloketh now her faut.
 Forthwith Fame flieth through the great Libian towns;
 A mischefe Fame—there is none els so swift—
 That mouing, growes; and flitting, gathers force. 225
 First small for dred, sone after climes the skies,
 Stayeth on earth, and hides her hed in cloudes.
 Whom our mother the earth, tempted by wrath
 Of gods, begat; the last sister—they write—
 To Caeus, and to Enceladus eke; 230
 Spedie of foote, of wyng likewise as swift;
 A monster huge, and dredfull to descriue:
 In euery plume that on her body sticks—
 A thing in dede much maruelous to heare—
 As many waker eyes lurk vnderneath, 235
 So many mouthes to speake, and listning eares.
 By night she flies amid the cloudie skie,
 Shriking, by the dark shadow of the earth,
 Ne doth decline to the swete sleepe her eyes.
 By day she sits to mark on the house top, 240
 Or turrents hye, and the great towns afraies,
 As mindefull of yll and lyes as blasing truth.
 This monster blithe with many a tale gan sow
 This rumor then into the common eares,
 As well things don, as that was neuer wrought: 245
 As, that there comen is to Tyrians court
 Aeneas, one outspong of Troyan blood,
 To whom fair Dido wold her self be wed;
 And that, the while, the winter long they passe

- The Tirian folke & skattred Troiane youth
 & Venus newew the cottages for fere 210
 Sought rownd about; the fluddes fell from the hills.
 Quene Dido, with the Troiane prince alone,
 Chanst on a denn. Our mother then, the erth,
 & Juno that hath charge of mariage,
 First tokens gave with burning gledes of flame, 215
 & previe to the weddlocke, lightning skies;
 & the nymphes wayled from the mountaynes toppes.
 Aye me! this was the foremost daye of myrthe,
 & of mischief the first occasion eke.
 Respect of fame no lenger her with holdes, 220
 Ne museth she to frame her loue be stelth.
 Wedlock she calls it; vnder the pretence
 Of which faier name she cloketh now her fault.
 Furthwith Fame flies through the greet Libian townes;
 A mischief Fame—ther is none ells so swifte— 225
 That moving, growes; & flitting, gethers strength.
 First small to dredd, soone after climes the skies,
 Percing the erth, & hides her hedd in clowdes.
 Whom our mother the erth, tempted by wrathe
 Of godes, begat; the last sister—thei write— 230
 To Caeus and Inceladus.
 Speedie of foote, of wing likewise right swifte;
 A monster thing & dreddfull to behold:
 For everie plume that on her bodie stickes
 As manie waker eies lurke vnderneath; 235
 A thing in deed much mervaylous to here,
 So manie mowthes to speke, & listning eares.
 By night she flieth amidd the clowdie skie,
 Shriking, by the darke shadowe of the erth,
 Ne once her eies to swete slepe doth encline. 240
 By daye she sittes to marke on the howse toppes
 Or turrettes hie, & the great townes she frayes,
 Mindfull of yll & lies as blasing truth.
 This monster blith with manie a tale gan sowe
 This rumor then into the common eares, 245
 As well thinges done as that was never wrought:
 As, that there comen is to Tyrians court
 Aeneas, that of Troiane bludd is sprong,
 To whom faier Dido wold her self be wedd;
 In natures lustes the winter for to passe, 250

- In foule delight, forgetting charge of reigne,
 Led against honour with vn honest lust. 250
- This in eche mouth the filthie goddesse spreads,
 And takes her course to king Hiarbas straight;
 Kindling his minde, with tales she feedes his wrath.
 Gotten was he by Ammon Iupiter 255
 Upon the rauisht nimph of Garamant.
 An hundred hugie, great temples he built
 In his farre stretching realmes to Iupiter;
 Altars as many kept with waking flame,
 A wathe alwayes vpon the gods to tend; 260
 The floores embrude with yelded blood of beastes,
 And threshold spread with garlands of strange hue.
 He, wood of minde, kindled by bitter brute,
 Tofore thaltars, in presence of the gods,
 With reared hands gan humbly Ioue entreate: 265
 "Almighty God! whom the Moores nacion,
 Fed at rich tables, presenteth with wine,
 Seest thou these things? or feare we thee in vaine,
 When thou lettest flye thy thonder from the cloudes?
 Or do those flames with vaine noyse vs affray? 270
 A woman that wandring in our coastes hath bought
 A plot for price, where she a citie set;
 To whom we gaue the strond for to manure,
 And lawes to rule her town; our wedlock lothed,
 Hath chose Aeneas to commaund her realme. 275
 That Paris now, with his vnmanly sorte,
 With mitred hats, with oynted bush and beard,
 His rape enioyth; whiles to thy temples we
 Our offrings bring, and folow rumors vaine."
 Whom praing in such sort and griping eke 280
 The altars fast, the mighty father heard,
 And writhed his loke toward the royal walls
 And louers eke, forgetting their good name.
 To Mercurie then gaue he thus in charge:
 "Hense, son, in hast! and call to thee the windes! 285
 Slide with thy plumes and tell the Troyan prince,
 That now in Carthage loytreth, rechlesse
 Of the towns graunted him by desteny.
 Swift through the skies see thow these words conuey.
 His faire mother behight him not to vs 290
 Such one to be, ne therefore twyse him saued
 From Grekish arms, but such a one

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This in ech mowth the filthie goddes spredd,
 & takes her course to king Iarbas straight;
 Kindling his minde, with tales she fedd his wrathe.
 Gotten he was by Hammon Jupiter 255
 Vpon the ravisht Garamantida.
 An hundred temples in his realme he buylte,
 An hundred aulters kepte with waker fyer,
 A watche allwaies on the goddes to attende;
 The erth imbrued with yelded blood of bestes, 260
 & thresholdes spredd with garlandes strange of hew.
 He, wood of minde, kindled by bitter bruities,
 Fore the aultars, in presence of the godes,
 With reared handes gan humblie Ioue entreate:
 "Allmighti lord, whom the Moors nacion, 265
 Fede at riche tables, presenteth with wine,
 Seest thou these thinges? or serue we the in vayne,
 When thou lettes fle the thunder from the clowdes,
 Whose flames oft chaunce with vaine noise vs afraye?
 A wandring woman in our coostes hath bowght 270
 A plott for price, wher she a village sett;
 To whom we gaue the strond for to manure,
 & lawes the towne to rule; our weddlock lothe,
 Hath chose Aeneas to commaund her realmes.
 That Paris now, with his vnmanlie sorte, 275
 With mytred hattes, with oynted bushe & bearde,
 His rape inioues; whiles to thie temple we
 Our offringes bring & hallowe rumours vayne."
 Whom prayeng in such sort & gryping eke
 The aulters fast, the mightie father harde, 280
 & wrythed his looke towards the royall walls
 & lovers eke, forgetting ther good name.
 To Mercurie then gaue he thus in charge:
 "Hence, sonne, in hast! & call to the the windes!
 Slide with thie plumes & tell the Troiane prince, 285
 That now in Carthage loytreth reckleslie,
 Of the townes graunted him by destenie.
 Swifte through the skies se thou these wordes reporte.
 His faire mother behight him not to vs
 Such one to be, ne therfor twise him savde 290

As mete might seme great Italie to rule,
 Dreedfull in arms, charged with seigniorie, 295
 Shewing in profe his worthy Teucrian race,
 And vnder lawes the whole world to subdue.
 If glorie of such things nought him enflame,
 Ne that he listes seke honour by som paine,
 The towers yet of Rome, being his sire,
 Doth he enuie to yong Ascanius? 300
 What mindeth he to frame? or on what hope
 In enmies land doth he make hys abode?
 Ne his ofspring in Italie regards?
 Ne yet the land of Lauin doth behold?
 Bid him make sayle; haue here the sum and end. 305
 Our message thus report." When Ioue had sayd,
 Then Mercurie gan bend him to obey
 His mightie fathers will; and to his heeles
 His golden wings he knits, which him transport
 With a light winde aboute the earth and seas. 310
 And then with him his wande he toke, whereby
 He calles from hell pale gostes, and other some
 Thether also he sendeth comfortlesse;
 Wherby he forceth sleepes, and then bereues;
 And mortall eies he closeth vp in deth. 315
 By power wherof he driues the windes away,
 And passeth eke amid the troubled cloudes,
 Till in his flight he gan descrie the top
 And the stepe flankes of rocky Atlas hill,
 That with his crowne susteines the welkin vp; 320
 Whose head, forgrowen with pine, circled alway
 With misty cloudes, beaten with wind and storme;
 His shoulders spred with snow; and from his chin
 The springes descend, his beard frozen with yse.
 Here Mercury with equal shinning winges 325
 First touched, and, with body headling bette,
 To the water thence tooke he his discent,
 Like to the foule that endlong costes and strondes,
 Swarming with fysh, flyes sweping by the sea.
 Cutting betwixt the windes and Libian landes, 330
 From his graundfather by the mothers side
 Cillenes child so came, and then alight
 Upon the houses with his winged feete,
 To fore the towers, wher he Aeneas saw
 Foundations cast, arering lodges new, 335
 Girt with a sward of iasper, starry bright;

From Greekishe armes, but Italie to rule,
 Dreddfull in armes, & chargde with seigniorie,
 Discovering his worthie Tewcrine race,
 & vnder lawes the whole world to subdue.
 If glorie of such thinges nowght him enflame, 295
 Ne that he list seke honour by some payne,
 The turrettes yet of Roome doth he envie,
 That is the father of Ascanius?
 What mindeth he to frame? or by what hope
 In innies land doth he make his abode? 300
 Ne his ofspring in Italie regards?
 Ne yet the lond of Lavine doth behold?
 Bidd him make sayle; haue here the summ & ende.
 Our message thus report." When Iove had said,
 Then Mercurie gan bend him to obeye 305
 His mightie fathers will; & to his heeles
 His golden winges he knittes, which him transport
 With a light winde aboue the erthe & sees.
 & then with him his wande he tooke, wherby
 He calls from hell pale ghostes, & other some 310
 Thither he sendeth allso comefortles;
 Wherby he forcethe slepes & bereaves them;
 & mortall eies he closethe vp in dethe.
 By pooer wherof he dryves the windes awaie,
 & passeth eke amidd the trowbled clowdes, 315
 Till in his flight he gan descriue the topp
 & steepie flankes of rockie Athlas hill,
 That with his crowne sustaines the welkin vp;
 Whose hedd, forgrowen with pine, circled allwaie
 With mistie clowdes, beaten with winde & stormes; 320
 His showlders spredd with snowe; & from his chinn
 The springes discende, his berd frosen with yse.
 Here Mercurie with egall shininge winges
 Fyrst towched, & with bodie heddlong bent,
 To the water thence took he his discent, 325
 Like to the fowle that endlonge coostes & strondes,
 Swarming with fishe, flies swymming by the sea.
 Cutting betwixt the windes & Libian sandes,
 From his graundfather by the mothers syde
 The Cylen childe so came, & then alight 330
 Vpon the howses with his winged feete,
 Tofore the towers, wher he Aeneas saw
 Fowndacouns cast & rearinge buyldinges new,
 Gyrt with a sworde of iasper, starrie bright;

A shining parel, flamed with stately eie
 Of Tirian purple, hong his shoulders down,
 The gift and work of wealthy Didoes hand,
 Stripped throughout with a thin thred of gold. 340

Thus he encounters him: "Oh careles wight,
 Both of thy realme, and of thine own affaires;
 A wifebound man now dost reare the walles
 Of high Cartage, to build a goodly town?
 From the bright skies the ruler of the gods 345
 Sent me to thee, that with his beck commaundes
 Both heuen and earth; in hast he gaue me charge,
 Through the light aire this message thee to say:
 What framest thou? or on what hope thy time
 In idlenes doth wast in Affrick land? 350

Of so great things if nought the fame thee stirr,
 Ne list by trauaile honour to pursue,
 Ascanus yet, that waxeth fast, behold,
 And the hope of Iulus seede, thine heir,
 To whom the realme of Italy belongs 355
 And soile of Rome." When Mercury had said,
 Amid his tale, far of from mortall eies
 Into light aire he vanisht out of sight.

Aeneas, with that vision stricken down,
 Well nere bestraught, vpstart his heare for dread; 360
 Amid his throtal his voice likewise gan stick.
 For to depart by night he longeth now,
 And the sweet land to leaue, astained sore
 With this aduise and message of the gods.
 What may he do, alas! or by what woordes 365
 Dare he persuade the raging quene in loue?
 Or in what sort may he his tale beginne?
 Now here, now there his recklesse minde gan run,
 And diuersly him drawes, discoursing all.
 After long doutes this sentence semed best: 370

Mnesthus first, and strong Cloanthus eke,
 He calles to him, with Sergest; vnto whom
 He gaue in charge his nauie secretly
 For to prepare, and driue to the sea coast
 His people, and their armour to addresse, 375
 And for the cause of change to faine excuse,
 And that he, when good Dido least foreknew
 Or did suspect so great a loue could break,
 Wold wait his time to speke therof most meete;
 The nearest way to hasten his entent. 380

Of Tyrian purple hynge his showldres downe 335
 His shinging pawle of mightie Didos gifte,
 Striped throwgh owt with a thinn threde of golde.

Then thus he sayd: "Thow, that of highe Carthage
 Dost the fowndacouns laye to please thie wife,
 Raising on height a passing fayer citie! 340

But oh, for woe; thine owne thinges owt of minde!
 From the bright skies the ruler of the godes

Sent me to the, which with his becke commaundes
 Both heaven & erth; in hast he gaue me charge
 Throw the light ayer this message the to saye: 345

What buildest thow, or by what hope thy time
 In idlenes thus wastes in Afrike land?

Of so great thinges if not the fame the sturr,
 Ne lust by honour thie travaile to pursue,
 Ascanius yet, that thriveth fast, behold, 350

& the hope of Iulus seede, thine heire,
 To whom the realme of Italie belongeth
 & soyle of Rome." When Mercurie had said,

Amid his tale, farr of from mortall eies
 Into light ayer he vanisht owt of sight. 355

Aeneas, with that vision stryken downe,
 Well ner bestraught, vp start his herre for dred;
 Amid his throte his voice likewise gan sticke.

For to depart by flight he longeth now,
 & that swete land to leave, astonied sore 360
 By thadvice & message of the godes.

What may he do, alas! or by what wordes
 Dare he perswade the raging quene in loue?
 Or in what sort may he his tale begin?

Whiles here, now ther his restles minde gan ronne, 365
 & diverslie him drawes, discoursing all.

After long dowbte this sentence semed best:
 Mnestheus first, & strong Cleanthus eke,
 He calls to him, with Sergest; vnto whom

He gave in charge his navie secretlie 370
 For to prepare, & drawe to the sea coostes
 His people, & his armour to addres,

& for the change of thinges to faine excuse,
 & that he wold, when Dido lest foreknew
 Or did suspect so great a love could breke, 375

Awaite a tyme to speke therof most mete;
 The nearest waie to hasten his entent.

Gladly his wil and biddings they obey.

Ful soone the quene this crafty sleight gan smell,—
Who can deceiue a loue in forecast?—

And first foresaw the motions for to come,
Things most assured fearing; vnto whom
That wicked Fame reported, how to flight
Was armde the fleet, all redy to auale. 385

Then ill bested of counsell, rageth she,
And whisketh through the town like Bachus nunne,
As Thias stirres, the sacred rites begon, 390
And when the wonted third yeres sacrifice
Doth prick her fourth, hering Bachus name hallowed,
And that the festful night of Citheron
Doth call her fourth, with noyes of dauncing.

At length her self bordeth Aeneas thus: 395

“Unfaithfull wight, to couer such a fault
Coldest thou hope? vnwist to leue my land?
Not thee our loue, nor yet right hand bethrothed,
Ne cruell death of Dido may withhold,
But that thou wilt in winter shippes prepare, 400
And trie the seas in broile of whorling windes?

What if the land thou seekest were not straunge,
If not vnknownen, or auncient Troye yet stooode,
In rough seas yet should Troye towne be sought?
Shunnest thou me? By these teares and right hand,— 405
For nought els haue I wretched lefte my self—

By our spousals and mariage begonne,
If I of thee deserued euer well,
Or thing of mine were euer to thee leefe,
Rue on this realme, whoes ruine is at hand. 410

If ought be left that praier may auale,
I thee beseche to do away this minde.
The Libians and tirans of Nomadane
For thee me hate; my Tirians eke for thee
Ar wroth; by thee my shamefastnes eke stained, 415

And good renoume, wherby vp to the starres
Perelesse I clame. To whom wilt thou me leaue,
Redy to dye, my swete guest, sithe this name
Is all, as now, that of a spouse remaines?
But wherto now shold I prolong my death? 420

What? vntil my brother Pigmalion
Beate downe my walles? or the Getulian king
Hiarbas yet captiue lead me away?
Before thy flight a child had I ones borne,

Gladlie his will & biddinges thei obeie.

Full soone the Quene this craftie sleight gan smell,
—Who can deceaue a lover in forecast?—

380

& first foresees these mocions for to come,
Ye most assured fearing; vnto whom
That wicked Fame reported how the flete
Was armed new, all readie to auale.

Then yll bestedd of cownsell, rageth she,
& whisketh through the towne like Bacchus nonne,
As Thyas sturrs, the sacred rites begonne,
When the wonted third yeres sacrifice
Doth prick her furth, hering Bacchus name halowed,
& when the feastfull night of Cytheron
Doth call her owt, with noise of her dawnsing.

385

390

At length her self thus boordes Aeneas with:

“Vnfaithfull wight, to colour such a flight!

& couldst thou hope vnwist to leave my land?

Not the our love, nor yet right hand betrothde,

395

Ne crwell dethe of Dido may with hold,

But that thou wilt in winter shippes prepare

& take the seas in broyle of raging windes?

What if the land thou sekest war not strange,

Yf not vnknownen, or auncient Troie stooode,

400

In rowghe seas yet shuld Troie of the be sought?

Shunnist thou me? by these teares & right hand—

For nowght ells haue I wretched lefte my self—,

By our spowsailes & mariage begoune,

If I of the deserued ever well,

405

Or thing of mine war ever to the leefe,

If to request that enie place be lefte,

Rue on this realme, whose ruine ys at hand,

I the beseche, & do awaie this minde.

The Libian folke & tyrantes Numydanne

410

For the me hate; my Tryians eke are wrothe;

My shamefastnes eke stayned for thi cause,

& good renowne, wherby vp to the starrs

Pereles I clambe. To whom wilt thou me leaue,

Readie to die, O my swete gest, syth this name

415

Ys all, as now, that of a spowse remaines?

But wherto now shuld I prolong my dethe?

What? vnto my brother Pigmalion

Bete downe my walls? or the Getulian king

Iarbas yet captive lead me awaie?

420

Before thie flight a child had I conceaved,

Or sene a yong Aeneas in my court 425
 Play vp and down, that might present thy face,
 All vtterly I could not seeme forsaken."
 Thus sayd the quene. He, to the gods aduise,
 Unmoued held his eies, and in his brest
 Represt his care and stroue against his wil, 430
 And these few wordes at last then forth he cast:
 "Neuer shall I denie, quene, thy deserte,
 Greater than thou in wordes may well expresse.
 To think on thee ne irke me aye it shall,
 Whiles of my selfe I shall haue memory, 435
 And whiles the spirit these limmes of mine shal rule.
 For present purpose somewhat shal I say.
 Neuer ment I to klok the same by stelth,
 Schlaunder me not, ne to escape by flight.
 Nor I to thee pretended mariage, 440
 Ne hyther can to ioine me in such leage.
 If desteny at mine own liberty
 To lead my life would haue permitted me,
 After my wil my sorow to redoub,
 Troy and the remainder of our folke 445
 Restore I shold, and with these scaped handes
 The walles againe vnto thee vanquished,
 And palace high of Priam eke repaire.
 But now Apollo, called Grineus,
 And prophecies of Licia me aduise 450
 To sease vpon the realme of Italy;
 That is my loue, my country, and my land
 If Cartage turrets thee, Phenician borne,
 And of a Libian town the sight deteine,
 To vs Troians why doest thou then enuy 455
 In Italy to make our risting seat?
 Lefull is eeke for vs straunge realmes to seeke.
 As oft as night doth cloke with shadowes darke
 The earth, as oft as flaming starres apere,
 The troubled ghost of my father Anchises 460
 So oft in sleepe doth fray me, and aduise;
 The wronged hed by me of my deare sonne,
 Whom I defraud of the Hisperian crown,
 And landes allotted him by desteny.
 The messenger eke of the gods but late 465
 Sent down from Ioue—I sware by either hed—,
 Passing the ayre, did this to me report.
 In bright day light the god my selfe I saw

Or saw a yong Aeneas in my court
 Play vp and downe, that did present thie face,
 All vtterlie I could not seme forsaken."

- Thus sayd the quene. He, to the godes advice, 425
 Vnmoved held his eies, & in his brest
 Represt his care & stroue against his will,
 & these wordes few at lengthe furth gan he cast:
 "Never shall I denie, quene, thie desertes,
 Greater then thou in wordes may well expres. 430
 To thinke on the ne yrke me ay it shall,
 Whiles of my self I shall haue memorie,
 & whiles the sprite these limmes of mine shall rule.
 It is not great the thing that I requyer.
 Nether ment I to cloke the same by stelth, 435
 Slaunder me not, ne to eskape by flight.
 Ne I to the pretended mariage,
 Ne hither cam to joine me in such league.
 Yf destenie at mine owne libertie
 To lead my life woold haue permitted me, 440
 After my will my sorowes to redowble,
 Troie & the remainder of all my folke
 Restore I shuld, & with these scaped handes
 Ther walls againe vnto the vanquished,
 & palaice hie of Priam eke repayer. 445
 But now Apollo, called Gryneus,
 & prophecies of Licia me bidd
 To sease vpon the realme of Italie;
 That is my loue, my countrie, & my land.
 Yf Carthage turretes the, of Phenis land, 450
 & of a Libian towne the sight detaynes,
 To vs Troianes whie dost thou then envie
 In Italie to make our rested ende?
 Lefull it is for vs strang realmes to seke.
 As ofte as night doth cloke with shadowe danke 455
 The erthe, as oft as flaming sterrs appere,
 The troobled ghost of my father Anchises
 So ofte in slepe doth feare & advice me,
 & wronged hedd by me of my dere sonne,
 Whom I defraude of the Hesperian crowne 460
 & landes allotted him by destenie.
 The messenger eke of the godes but late,
 Sent downe from Ioue—I swere by either hedd—,
 Passing the aier, did this to me reporte.
 In bright daie light the god my self I sawe 465

Entre these walles, and with this eares him heard.
 Leue then with plaint to vexe both the and me; 470
 Against my will to Italy I go."

Whiles in this sort he did his tale pronounce,
 With waiward looke she gan him ay behold,
 And roling eies that moued to and fro,
 With silent looke discoursing ouer al. 475

And foorth in rage at last thus gan she brayde:
 "Faithlesse! forsworn! ne goddesse was thy dam,
 Nor Dardanus beginner of thy race,
 But of hard rockes mount Caucase monstrousous 480
 Bred thee, and teates of tyger gaue thee suck.

But what should I dissemble now my chere,
 Or me reserue to hope of greater things?
 Mindes he our teares, or euer moued his eyen?
 Wept he for ruth, or pitied he our loue?
 What shall I set before, or where begin? 485

Iuno, nor Ioue, with iust eyes this beholds.
 Faith in no where in suretie to be found.
 Did I not him, thrown vp vpon my share,
 In neede receiue, and fonded eke inuest
 Of halfe my realme, his nauie lost, repair; 490
 From deathes daunger his fellowes eke defend?
 Ay me! with rage and furies, loe! I driue.

Apollo now, now Lycian prophesies,
 Another while the messenger of gods,
 He sayes, sent down from mighty Ioue himself, 495
 The dredfull charge amid the skies hath brought.
 As though that were the trauil of the gods,
 Or such a care their quietnes might moue!

I hold thee not, nor yet gainsay thy words:
 To Italie passe on by helpe of windes, 500
 And through the floods go searche thy kingdom new.

If ruthfull gods haue any power, I trust
 Amid the rocks thy guerdon thou shalt finde,
 When thou shalt clepe full oft on Didos name.
 With burial brandes I, absent, shall thee chase, 505
 And when cold death from life these lims deuides,
 My gost eche where shall still on thee awaite.
 Thou shalt aby, and I shall here thereof;
 Among the soules below thy brute shall come."

With such like wordes she cut of half her tale, 510
 With pensiue hart abandoning the light,
 And from his sight herself gan farre remoue,

Entre these walls, & with these eares him hard.
 Leave then with plaint to vexe both the & me;
 Against my will to Italie I goe."

Whiles in this sort his tale he did pronowncce,
 With wayward looke she gan him aie behold, 470
 With rowling eies that moved to & fro,
 With sylent looke discoursing over all.
 & furth at last in rage thus gan she brayde:
 "Faithless! foresworne! thie dame ne goddes was,
 Nor Dardanus beginner of thie race, 475
 But soor hard rockes mownt Caucase monstrous
 Bredd the, & tettes of tygres gaue the sucke.
 But what shuld I dissemble now my chere,
 Or me reserue to hope of greater thinges?
 Shedd he one teare, or ever movde his eien? 480
 Wepte he for ruth, or pitied our loue?
 What shall I sett before, or wher beginne?
 Iuno, ne Iove, with iust eies this beheld.
 Faith is no wher; no surete is to be fownde.
 Did I not him, throwen vp vpon my shore, 485
 In nede receaue, & fownded eke invest
 Of half my realme; his navie lost, repayer;
 From dethes daunger his felowes eke defende?
 Aie me! with rage of furies, lo! I driue.
 Apollo now, now Lician prophecies, 490
 An other while the messenger of godes,
 He saith, sent downe from mightie Iove him self,
 This dreddfull charge amidd the skies hath browght.
 As though that were the travaile of the godes,
 Or such a care ther quietnes might moue! 495
 I hold the not, nor yet gainsaye thie wordes;
 To Italie passe on by helpe of windes,
 & through the fluddes go serche thi kingdome new.
 Yf rufull godes haue enie power, I trust
 Amidd the rockes thie hyer shalt thow fynde, 500
 When thow shalt clepe full oft on Didos name.
 With buriall brandes I, absent, shall the chase,
 & when cold dethe from life these lymmes deuide,
 My ghost ech wher shall still on the awaite.
 Thow shalt abie, & I shall here thereof; 505
 Among the sowles bylowe this bruite shall come."

With such like wordes she cutt of half his tale,
 With pensife hart abandoninge the light,
 & from his sight her self gan farr remoue,

Forsaking him, that many things in fere
 Imagened, and did prepare to say.
 Her swouning lims her damsels gan releue, 515
 And to her chamber bare of marble stone,
 And layd her on her bed with tapets spred.
 But iust Aeneas, though he did desire
 With comfort swet her sorows to appease,
 And with his words to banish all her care, 520
 Wailing her much, with great loue ouercome,
 The gods will yet he woorketh, and resortes
 Unto his nauie, where the Troyans fast
 Fell to their worke, from the shore to vnstock
 High rigged ships. Now fleetes the talowed kele. 525
 Their oares with leaues yet grene from wood they bring,
 And mastes vnshauē, for hast to take their flight.
 You might haue sene them throng out of the town
 Like ants, when they do spoile the bing of corne
 For winters dred, which they beare to their den, 530
 When the black swarm creeps ouer all the fields,
 And thwart the grasse by strait pathes drags their pray.
 The great graines then som on their shoulders trusse,
 Some driue the troupe, som chastice eke the slow,
 That with their trauaile chafed is eche pathe. 535
 Beholding this, what thought might Dido haue!
 What sighes gaue she, when from her towers hye
 The large coasts she saw haunted with Troyans workes,
 And in her sight the seas with din confounded!
 O witlesse loue, what thing is that to do 540
 A mortal minde thou canst not force thereto!
 Forced she is to teares ay to returne,
 With new requestes to yeld her hart to loue.
 And least she should before her causelesse death
 Leave any thing vntried: "O sister Anne," 545
 Quoth she, "behold the whole coast round about,
 How they prepare, assembled euery where;
 The streming sailes abiding but for wynde;
 The shipmen crowne theyr ships with bows for ioy.
 O sister, if so great a sorow I 550
 Mistrusted had, it were more light to beare.
 Yet nathelesse, this for me wretched wight,
 Anne, shalt thou do, for faithles, thee alone
 He reuerenced, thee eke his secretes tolde.
 The metest time thou knewest to borde the man; 555
 To my proude foe thus, sister, humbly say:
 I with the Grekes within the port Aulide

Forsaking him, that manie thinges in feare 510
 Imagyned, & did prepare to saye.
 Her sowning lymmes her damsells gan releue,
 & to her chamber bare of marble stone,
 & layd her on her bedd with tapistes spredd.
 But iust Aeneas, though he did desyer 515
 With comfort swete her sorrowe to appease,
 & with his wordes to bannishe all her care,
 To waile her much with grete love ouercome,
 By the godes will yet workes he, & resortes
 Vnto his navie, wher the Troianes fast 520
 Fell to ther worke, from the shore to vnstocke
 Highe charged shippes. Now fleetes the talowed kele.
 Ther ores with leaues yet grene from woode thei bringe,
 & mastes vnshauen, for hast to take ther flight.
 Ye might haue seen them throng owt of the towne 525
 Like antes, when thei do spoile the binge of corne
 For winters dredd, which thei beare to ther denne,
 When the blake swarme creepes ouer all the feeldes,
 & thwart the grasse by straight pathes dragg ther praye.
 The gret graynes then somme on ther showlders trusse, 530
 Some driue the troope, some chastice eke the slowe;
 With ther travaile chaffed ys euerie path.
 Beholdinge thus, what thought might Dido haue!
 What sighes gaue she, that from her towers of height
 The large coostes saw haunted with Troians werkes, 535
 & in her sight the seas with dynne confownded!
 O wittles loue, what thing is that to do
 A mortall minde thow canst not force therto!
 Forced she is to teares ay to returne,
 By new requestes to yeld her hart to loue. 540
 & lest she shuld before her causeles dethe
 Leave enie thing vntried: "O Sister An,"
 Quod she, "behold the whole coost rownd abowt,
 How thei prepare, assembled everie wher;
 The streminge sayles abyden but for windes; 545
 The shippmen crowne ther shippes with bowes for ioie.
 O sister, if so great a sorrowe I
 Mistrusted had, it wear more light to beare.
 Yet natheles, this for me wretched wight,
 An, shalt thou doe, for faithles, the alone 550
 He reverenced, & eke his secrettes told.
 The metest tymes thou knew to boorde the man;
 To my prowd foe thus, sister, humblie saye:
 I with the Grekes in the port Aulide

Coniured not, the Troyans to destroy;
 Nor to the walles of Troy yet sent my fleete;
 Nor cynders of his father Anchises 560
 Disturbed haue, out of his sepulture.
 Why lettes he not my wordes sinke in his eares
 So harde to ouertreate? whither whirles he?
 This last boone yet graunt he to wretched loue:
 Prosperous windes for to depart with ease 565
 Let him abide. The foresayde mariage now,
 That he betraied, I do not him require,
 Nor that he should faire Italy forgo;
 Neither I would he should his kingdom leaue;
 Quiet I aske, and a time of delay, 570
 And respite eke my furye to asswage,
 Till my mishap teach me, all comfortlesse,
 How for to wayle my grief. This latter grace,
 Sister, I craue; have thou remorse of me!
 Whiche, if thou shalt vouchsafe, with heapes I shall 575
 Leaue by my death redoubled vnto thee."

Moisted with teares thus wretched gan she playne;
 Which Anne reportes, and answere brings againe.
 Nought teares him moue, ne yet to any wordes
 He can be framed with gentle minde to yelde. 580
 The werdes withstande, & God stops his meke eares.
 Like to the aged boysteous bodied oke,
 The which among the Alpes the northerne windes,
 Blowyng now from this quarter, now from that,
 Betwixt them striue to ouerwhelme with blastes; 585
 The whistlyng ayre among the braunches rores,
 Which all at once bow to the earth her croppes,
 The stock once smit; whiles in the rockes the tree
 Sticke fast; and loke! how hye to the heauen her toppe
 Reares vp, so deepe her roote spredes downe to hell: 590
 So was this lorde now here, now there beset
 With wordes, in whose stoute brest wrought many cares.
 But still his minde in one remaines; in vaine
 The teares were shed. Then Dido, frayde of fates,
 Wisheth for death, irked to see the skyes. 595
 And that she might the rather worke her will,
 And leaue the light—a grisely thing to tell—,
 Upon the altars, burnyng full of cense,
 When she set giftes of sacrifice, she saw
 The holy water stocks waxe blacke within;
 The wine eke shed, chaunge into filthy gore. 600

- Coniured not, the Troianes to destroie; 555
 Nor to the walls of Troie yet sent my fleete;
 Nor cynders of his father Anchises
 Disturbed, aye owt of his sepulture.
 Whie lettes he not my wordes synk in his eares
 So hard for to intreat? whither whorles he? 560
 This last boone yet graunte he to wretched loue:
 Prosperous windes for to depart with ease
 Let him abide. The foresaid marriage now,
 That he betraide, I do not him requyer,
 Nor that he shuld faire Italie forgoe; 565
 Nether I woold he shuld his kingdome leaue;
 Quiet I aske, & a tyme of delaye,
 & respite eke my furie to aswage,
 Till my mishappe teach me, all comefortles,
 How for to waile my greif. This latter grace, 570
 Sister, I craue; haue thow remorse of me!
 Which, if thow shalt vouchsafe, with heapes I shall
 Leave by my dethe well rendred vnto the."
- Mingled with teares thus wretched gan she plaine;
 Which An reportes, & answer bringes againe. 575
 Nowght teares him moue, ne yet vnto my wordes
 He harkyns, though that he war milde of kynde.
 Destenie withstandes; a god stoppes his meke eares.
 Like to the aged boistrous bodid oke,
 Amidd the Alpes, which that the northren windes, 580
 That now from this, now from that quarter blowe,
 Betwixt them striue to overwhelme with blast;
 The whistling ayer amongst the braunches rores,
 Which all at ones bowe to the erthe hys croppes,
 The stocke onste smyte; whiles in the rockes the tree 585
 Stikes fast; & looke! how hie to heaven his topp
 Reares vp, as deepe his roote spredes downe to hell:
 So was this lord now here, now ther besett
 With wordes, in whose stowt brest wrowght maine cares.
- But still his minde in one remaynes; for nowght 590
 The teares werr shed. Then Dido, frayd of fates,
 Wisheth for dethe, yrkenge to see the skies.
 & that she might the rather worke her will,
 & leaue the light—a greislie thing to tell—
 Vpon the aulters, burninge full of sence, 595
 When she sett giftes of sacrifice, she sawe
 The holie water stockes waxe blake within;
 The wine eke shedd, changde into filthie geare;

This she to none, not to her sister told.
 A marble temple in her palace eke,
 In memory of her old spouse, there stood,
 In great honour and worship, which she held, 605
 With snowwhite clothes deckt, and with bows of feast;
 Wherout was herd her husbandes voyce and speche
 Cleping for her, when dark night hid the earth.
 And oft the owle with rufull song complaind
 From the house top, drawing long dolefull tunes. 610
 And many things, forspoke by prophets past,
 With dredfull warning gan her now affray,
 And stern Aeneas semed in her slepe
 To chase her stil about, distraught in rage.
 And still her thought that she was left alone 615
 Uncompanied, great viages to wende,
 In desert land her Tyrian folk to seeke.
 Like Pentheus, that in his madnes saw
 Swarming in flocks the furies all of hell,
 Two suns remoue, and Thebes town shew twain; 620
 Or like Orestes, Agamemnons son,
 In tragedies who represented aye
 Driuen about, that from his mother fled
 Armed with brands, and eke with serpents black;
 That sitting found within the temples porche 625
 The vglie furies his slaughter to reuenge.
 Yelden to wo, when phrensie had her caught,
 Within her selfe then gan she well debate,
 Full bent to dye, the time and eke the meane;
 And to her wofull sister thus she sayd, 630
 In outward chere dissembling her entent,
 Presenting hope vnder a semblant glad:
 "Sister, reioyce! for I haue found the way
 Him to returne, or lose me from his loue.
 Toward the end of the great ocean flood, 635
 Where as the wandring sun discendeth hence,
 In the extremes of Ethiope, is a place
 Where huge Atlas doth on his sholders turne
 The sphere so round, with flaming starres beset;
 Borne of Massayle, I heare, should be a nunne, 640
 That of Thesperian sisters temple old
 And of their goodly garden keper was,
 That geues vnto the dragon eke his foode,
 That on the tree preserues the holy fruit
 That honie moyst, and sleping poppey castes. 645

Which she to none, ner to her sister told.
 A marble temple in her palaice eke, 600
 In memorie of her old spouse, ther stoode,
 In great honour & wurshippe, which she held,
 With snow white clothes deckt, & with bowes of feast;
 Wher oft was hard her husbondes voice, & speche
 Clepinge for her, when derke night hidd the erth. 605
 & oft the owle with rufull song complaind
 From the howse topp, to drawe his plaining tunes.
 & manie thinges, forspoke by prophetes past,
 Of dreddfull warninges gan her now afraye,
 & sterne Aeneas semed in her slepe 610
 To chase her still abowt, bestraught in rage.
 & still her thowght that she was left alone
 Vnwaited on great voiages to wende,
 In desert land her Tyrian folke to seke.
 Like Pentheus, that in his maddnes sawe 615
 Swarminge in flockes the furies all of hell,
 Two souns remoue, & Thebes towne showde twaine;
 Or like Orestes, Agamemnons sonne,
 In tragedies who representeth aie
 Driven abowt, that from his mother fledd 620
 With armed brandes, & eke with serpentis blake;
 That sitting fownd within the temples porche
 Th uglie furies his slaughter to revenge.
 Yolden to woe, when frensie had her caught,
 Within her self then gan she well debate, 625
 Full bent to dye, the tyme & eke the meane;
 & to her wofull sister thus she sayd,
 In owtward chere dissembling her entent,
 Presentinge hope vnder a semblant glade:
 "Sister, reioice! for I haue fownd the waie 630
 Him to returne, & loose me from his loue.
 Toward the ende of the ocean fludd,
 Wheras the sonne descendeth & declines,
 In thextremes of Aethiope, is a place
 Wher huge Atlas doth on his shoulders turne 635
 The sphere so rownd, with flaming sterris besett;
 Borne of Massile, I here, shuld be a nonne,
 Of the Hesperian sisters temple old
 The garder, that giues the dragon foode
 That on the tre preserues the holie fruite 640
 Which honie moist & sleping popey cast.

This woman doth auaunt, by force of charme,
 What hart she list to set at libertie,
 And other some to perce with heuy cares;
 In running flood to stop the waters course,
 And eke the sterres their meuing to reuerse; 650
 Tassemble eke the gostes that walk by night.
 Under thy feete thearth thou shalt behold
 Tremble and rore, the okes come from the hill.
 The gods and thee, dere sister, now I call
 In witnes, and thy hed to me so sweete, 655
 To magike artes against my will I bend.
 Right secretly within our inner court,
 In open ayre reare vp a stack of wood,
 And hang theron the weapon of this man,
 The which he left within my chamber stick. 660
 His weedes dispoiled all, and bridal bed,
 Wherein, alas! sister, I found my bane,
 Charge thereupon; for so the nunne commaundes,
 To do away what did to him belong,
 Of that false wight that might remembraunce bring." 665
 Then whisted she; the pale her face gan staine.
 Ne could yet Anne beleue her sister ment
 To cloke her death by this new sacrifice,
 Nor in her brest such furie did conceiue;
 Neither doth she now dred more greuous thing 670
 Then folowed Sichees death; wherefore
 She put her will in vre. But then the quene,
 When that the stak of wood was reared vp
 Under the ayre within the inward court,
 With clouen oke and billets made of fyrrer,
 With garlandes she doth all beset the place, 675
 And with grene bows eke crown the funerall;
 And therupon his wedes and swerd yleft,
 And on a bed his picture she bestowes,
 As she that well foreknew what was to come. 680
 The altars stande about, and eke the nunne
 With sparkeled tresse; the which thre hundred gods
 With a loude voice doth thunder out at once:
 Erebus the grisely, and Chaos huge,
 And eke the threefolde goddesse Hecate, 685
 And three faces of Diana the virgin;
 And sprinkles eke the water counterfet,
 Like vnto blacke Auernus lake in hell.
 And springyng herbes reapt vp with brasen sithes
 Were sought, after the right course of the moone; 690

This woman doth avaunt, by force of charmes,
 What hart she list to sett at libertie,
 & other some to perse with heavie care;
 In ronning floode to stopp the waters course, 645
 & in the sterres ther order to reverse;
 The ghostes that walke by night eke to assemble.
 Vnder thie foote the earth thow shalt behold
 Tremble & rore, the okes fall from the hills.
 The godes & the, dere sister, now I call 650
 In wittnes, & thie hedd to me so swete,
 To magike art against my will I bend.
 Right secretlie within our inner court,
 In open aier reare vp a stacke of woode,
 & hang ther on the weapon of this man, 655
 The which he lefte within my chamber sticke.
 His weedes despoiled all, & brydall bedd,
 Wherin, alas! sister, I fownd my bane,
 Charge ther vpon; for so the nonne commaundes,
 To do awaie what so did him belong, 660
 Of that false wight that might remembrance bring."

Then whisted she; the pale her face gan staine.
 Ne could yet An beleue her sister ment
 To cloke her dethe by this new sacrifice,
 Nor in her brest such furie did conceaue; 665
 Nether doth she now dredd more grevous thinges
 Then folowed Sycheus dethe, wherfor
 She puttes her will in vre.
 But the quene, when the stacke was reared vp
 Vnder the aier within the open court, 670
 With cloven oke & billetes made of fyrr,
 With garlandes then she doth besett the place,
 & with grene bowes eke crowen the funerall;
 & ther vpon his weedes & sword forsake,
 & over his bedd his picture she bestowes, 675
 As she that well foreknew what was to come.
 The aulters stand abowt, & eke the nonne
 With sparkled tresse; the which iii C godes
 With a lowd voice doth thunder owt at once:
 Herebus greislie, & Chaos eke, 680
 With the threfold goddes Proserpine,
 & thre figures of Dian the virgine;
 & sprinkles eke the water counterfayte,
 Vnto the blake Avernus lake in hell.
 Weare sought, after the right course of the moone;
 & springing herbes reaped with brasen sighes 685

The venim blacke intermingled with milke;
 The lumpe of fleshe twene the new borne foales eyen
 To reue, that winneth from the damme her loue.
 She, with the mole all in her handes deuout,
 Stode neare the aulter, bare of the one foote, 695
 With vesture loose, the bandes vnaced all;
 Bent for to dye, cals the gods to recorde,
 And guilty starres eke of her desteny.
 And if there were any god that had care
 Of louers hartes, not moued with loue alike, 700
 Him she requires of iustice to remember.
 It was then night; the sounde and quiet slepe
 Had through the earth the weried bodyes caught;
 The woodes, the ragyng seas were falne to rest;
 When that the starres had halfe their course declined; 705
 The feldes whist, beastes, and fowles of diuers hue,
 And what so that in the brode lakes remainde,
 Or yet among the bushy thickes of bryar,
 Laide downe to slepe by silence of the night,
 Gan swage their cares, mindlesse of trauels past. 710
 Not so the spirite of this Phenician,
 Unhappy she, that on no slepe could chance,
 Nor yet nightes rest enter in eye or brest;
 Her cares redoble; loue doth rise and rage againe,
 And ouerflowes with swellyng stormes of wrath. 715
 Thus thinks she then, this roules she in her mind:
 "What shall I do? shall I now beare the scorne
 For to assaye mine olde woers againe,
 And humbly yet a Numid spouse require,
 Whose mariage I haue so oft disdayned? 720
 The Troyan nauy, and Teucrian vile commaundes
 Follow shall I, as though it shoulde auaille,
 That whilom by my helpe they were releued?
 Or for because with kinde and mindefull folke
 Right well doth sit the passed thankefull dede? 725
 Who would me suffer—admit this were my will—,
 Or me scorned to their proude shippes receiue?
 Oh, wo begone, full little knowest thou yet
 The broken othes of Laomedons kinde!
 What then? alone on mery mariners 730
 Shall I waite, or borde them with my power
 Of Tyrians, assembled me about?
 And such as I with trauaile brought from Tyre,
 Driue to the seas, and force them saile againe?

Ther venime blake entermingled with mylke;
 The lompe of fleshe twene the new borne fols eien
 To weane her from her dames loue.
 She, with the milk in bothe her handes devoute, 690
 Stoode nere the aulter, bare on the one foote,
 With vesture loose, the bandes vnlaced all;
 Bent for to dye, calls the godes to record,
 & gyltie sterrs eke of her destenie.
 & if that ther werr enie god had care 695
 Of lovers trwe, vnequall in behest,
 Him she requires of iustice to remember.
 Yt was the night that sownd & quiet rest
 Had through the erth the wearied bodies caught;
 The woodes, the raging seas war fallen to rest; 700
 When that the starrs had half ther course declinde;
 The feldes whiste, beastes, & fowles of dyvers hwe,
 & what so that in the brode slowghes remaine,
 Or yet amonges the busshie thickes of bryer,
 Laid downe to slepe by sylence of the night, 705
 Gan swage ther cares, mindles of travailes past.
 Not so the sprite of this Phenician,
 Vnhappie she, that on no slepe coold chaunce,
 Nor yet nightes rest in eie nor brest coold entre;
 Her cares redowble; loue rise & rage againe, 710
 & ouerflowes with swelling stormes of wrathe.
 Thus thinkes she then, thus rowles she in her minde:
 "What shuld I do? shall I now beare the skorne
 For to assaye myne old wooers againe,
 Or humblie yet a Numyde spouse require, 715
 Whose mariage I haue so ofte disdaine?
 The Troiane nevie, & Teuchryn vile commaundes
 Follow shall I, as though it shuld availe,
 That whilome by mie helpe thei war releved?
 Or for bycause with kynd & mindfull folke 720
 Right well doth sitt the passed thankfull dede?
 Who woud me suffer—admitt this war my will—,
 Or skorned me to ther prowde shippes receaue?
 Oh, woe begon, full litle doest thou knowe
 Or smell the broken othes of Laomedus kinde! 725
 What then? alone with merie maryners
 Shall I awaite, or boorde them with my power
 Of Tyrians, assembled me about?
 & such as I with travaile browght from Tyre,
 Druie to the seas, & force them sayle againe? 730

But rather dye, euen as thou hast deserued, 735
 And to this wo with iron geue thou ende!
 And thou, sister, first vanquisht with my teares
 Thou in my rage with all these mischiefes first
 Didst burden me, and yelde me to my foe.
 Was it not graunted me, from spousals free, 740
 Like to wilde beastes, to liue without offence,
 Without taste of such cares? Is there no fayth
 Reserued to the cinders of Sychee?"
 Such great complaints brake forth out of her brest;
 Whiles Aeneas, full minded to depart, 745
 All thinges prepared, slept in the poupe on high.
 To whom in slepe the wonted godheds forme
 Gan aye appere, returnyng in like shape
 As semed him, and gan him thus aduise,
 Like vnto Mercury in voyce and hue, 759
 With yelow bushe, and comely lymmes of youth:
 "O Goddessesonne, in such case canst thou sleepe?
 Ne yet bestraught the daungers doest forsee
 That compasse thee, nor hearst the faire windes blowe?
 Dido in minde roules vengeance and desceite; 755
 Determd to dye, swelles with vnstable ire.
 Wilt thou not flee, whiles thou hast time of flight?
 Straight shalt thou see the seas couered with sayles,
 The blasyng brondes the shore all spred with flame.
 And if the morow steale vpon thee here? 760
 Come of, haue done, set all delay aside;
 For full of change these women be alway."
 This sayd, in the dark night he gan him hide.
 Aeneas, of this sodain vision
 Adred, starts vp out of his sleepe in hast; 765
 Cals vp his feers: "Awake! get vp, my men!
 Abord your ships, and hoyse vp sayl with speede!
 A god me wills, sent from aboue againe,
 To hast my flight, and writhen cabels cut.
 Oh holy god, what so thou art, we shall 770
 Folow thee, and all blithe obey thy will.
 Be at our hand, and frendly vs assist!
 Adresse the sterres with prosperous influence!"
 And with that word his glistering sword vnshethes,
 With which drawen he the cabels cut in twaine. 775
 The like desire the rest embraced all.
 All thing in hast they cast, and fourth they whurle.
 The shores they leaue; with ships the seas ar spred;
 Cutting the fome by the blew seas they swepe.

But rather dye, even as thow hast deserved,
 & to this woe with yron geve thow ende!
 & thow, sister, first vanquisht with my teares,
 Thow in my rage with all these mischiefes fyrst
 Did burden me, & wisht me to my foe. 735
 Was it not graunted me, from spousailes fre,
 Like to wild bestes, to lyve with owt offence,
 With owt tast of such cares? Is ther no faith
 Reserude to the cynders of Sycheus?
 Such great complaintes brake furth owt of her brest;
 Whiles that Aeneas, certein to depart, 740
 All thinges preparde, slept in the pupp on hie,
 To whom in sleape the wonted godheddes forme
 Gan aie appere, returning in like shape
 As semed him, & gan him thus advise, 745
 Like vnto Mercurie in voice & here,
 With yelow bushe & comelie lymmes of youthe:
 "O goddes sone, in such case canst thow sleape?
 Nor yet bestraight the daungers dest for see
 That compass the, ner here the faire windes blowe? 750
 Dido in minde rowles veniaunce & deceite;
 Certein of death, swells with vnstable yre.
 Wilt thow not fle, whiles thow hast tyme of flight?
 Straight shalt thow se the seas coverd with sayles,
 The blasing brondes the shore skalt all with flame. 755
 & if the morow steales vpon the here?
 Come of, haue done, sett all delaie aside;
 For full of change these women be allwaie."
 This said, in the dark night he gan him hide.
 Aeneas, of this sodaine vision 760
 Adredd, stertes vp owt of his sleape in hast;
 Calls vp his feres: "Awake! gett vp, my men!
 Aburd your shippes, & hoyse vp sayle with spede!
 A god me wills, sent from aboue againe,
 To hast my flight, & wrethed cables cutt. 765
 O holie god, what so thow art, we shall
 Followe the, & all blithe obaye thie will.
 Be at our hand, & frindlie vs assist!
 Adresse the sterrs with prosperous influence!"
 & with that word his raser sword vnshethes, 770
 With which drawen he the cable cutt in twaine;
 The like desire the rest imbraced all.
 All thing in hast thei refte, & furth thei whorle.
 The shore thei leave; with shippes the sees ar spredd;
 Cuttinge the fome by the grene seas thei sweepe. 775

Aurora now from Titans purple bed 780
 With new day light hath ouerspred the earth,
 When by her windowes the quene the peping day
 Espyed, and nauie with splaid sailes depart
 The shore, and eke the porte of vessels voyde.
 Her comly brest thrise or foure times she smote 785
 With her own hand, and tore her golden tresse.
 "Oh Ioue!" quoth she, "shall he then thus depart,
 A straunger thus, and scorne our kingdom so?
 Shall not my men do on theyr armure prest,
 And eke pursue them throughout all the town? 790
 Out of the rode sone shall the vessell warpe?
 Hast on, cast flame, set sayle, and welde your owers!
 What said I? but where am I? what phrensie
 Alters thy minde? Vnhappy Dido, now
 Hath thee beset a froward destenie? 795
 Then it behoued, when thou didst geue to him
 The scepter. Lo! his faith and his right hand,
 That leades with him, they say, his countrie godes,
 That on his back his aged father bore!
 His body might I not have caught and rent, 800
 And in the seas drenched him, and his feers?
 And from Ascanius his life with iron reft,
 And set him on his fathers bord for meate?
 Of such debate perchaunce the fortune might
 Haue bene doutfull; would god it were assaied! 805
 Whom should I feare, sith I my selfe must die?
 Might I have throwen into that nauy brandes,
 And filled eke their deckes with flaming fire,
 The father, sonne, and all their nacion
 Destroied, and falln my self ded ouer al! 810
 Sunne, with thy beames that mortall workes discries;
 And thou, Iuno, that wel these trauailes knowest;
 Proserpine, thou, vpon whom folk do vse
 To houle, and call in forked waies by night;
 Infernal furies, ye wreakers of wrong; 815
 And Didos gods, who standes at point of death:
 Receiue these wordes, and eke your heauy power
 Withdraw from me, that wicked folk deserue,
 And our request accept, we you beseche.
 If so that yonder wicked head must needes 820
 Recouer port, and saile to land of force,
 And if Ioues wil haue so resolved it,
 And such ende set as no wight can fordoe;

Aurora now from Titans purple bedd
 With new daies light had ouerspredd the earth,
 Through the windowe the quene the creaking daye
 Aspied, & navie with splaide sayles depart
 The shore, & eke the port of vessells voide. 780
 Her comelye brest thrise or fower tymes she smitte
 With her owne hand, & tare her golden tresse.
 "Oh Iove!" quod she, "Shall he then thus depart,
 A straunger thus, & skorne our kingdome soe?
 Shall not my men do on ther armour prest, 785
 & eke persue them through owt all this towne?
 Owt of the rode soone shuld the vessells warpe?
 Hast on, cast flame, hoyse sayle, & weelde your ores!
 What said I? but wher am I? what fransie
 Alters thie minde? Vnhappie Dido, now 790
 Hath the be sett a froward destenie?
 Then the behoued, when thow did deuide
 Thie sceptre. Loe, his faithe & his right hand,
 That ledes with him, thei saye, his cuntrie godes,
 That on his backe his aged father bare! 795
 His bodie might not I haue caught & rent,
 & in the sees haue drehtcht him, & his pheres?
 Or from Askanus his life berefte with yron,
 & sett him on his fathers boord for meat?
 Of such debate perchaunce the fortune might 800
 Haue doweftull bene; woold god yt war assayd!
 Whom shuld I fear, that sithe my self must dye?
 Might I haue throwen into that navie brondes,
 & fylled eke ther deckes with flaming fyre,
 The father, sonn, & all the nacion 805
 Destroyed, & fall my self ther ouer all!
 Sunne, with thie beames that mortall werkes descrist;
 And thow, Iuno, that well these travailes knowst;
 Proserpine, thow, vpon whom folke do vse
 To howle, & call in forked waies by night; 810
 Infernall furies, ye wreekers of wrong;
 & Didos godes, which standes at point of deathe:
 Receaue these wordes, & eke your heauie powre
 With drawe from me, that wicked folke deserue,
 & our request accepte, we you besech. 815
 If so that yonder wicked hed must nedes
 Recouer port, & sayle to land of force,
 & if Ioues will hath so resolved it,
 & such end sett as no wight can fordoe;

Yet at the least asailed mought he be
 With armes and warres of hardy nacions; 825
 From the boundes of his kingdom farre exiled;
 Iulus eke rashed out of his armes;
 Driuen to call for helpe, that he may see
 The giltlesh corpses of his folke lie dead.
 And after hard condicions of peace, 830
 His realme, nor life desired may he brooke;
 But fall before his time, vngraued amid the sandes.
 This I require; these wordes with blood I shed.
 And, Trians, ye his stocke and all his race
 Pursue with hate! rewarde our cinders so! 835
 No loue nor leage betwixt our peoples be!
 And of our bones some wreaker may there spring,
 With sword and flame that Troians may pursue!
 And from hencefoorth, when that our powr may stretch,
 Our costes to them contrary be for aye, 840
 I craue of God; and our streames to their fluddes;
 Armes vnto armes; and offspring of eche race
 With mortal warr eche other may fordoe!"

This said, her mind she writhed on al sides,
 Seking with spede to end her irksome life. 845
 To Sichees nurse, Barcen, then thus she said—
 For hers at home in ashes did remaine—:
 "Cal vnto me, deare nurse, my sister Anne;
 Bid her in hast in water of the fludde
 She sprinckle the body, and bring the beastes 850
 And purging sacrifice I did her shewe.
 So let her come; and thou thy temples bind
 With sacred garlandes; for the sacrifice
 That I to Pluto haue begonne, my mind
 Is to performe, and geue end to these cares; 855
 And Troian statue throw into the flame."
 When she had said, redouble gan her nurse
 Her steppes, forth on an aged womans trot.

But trembling Dido egerly now bent
 Upon her sterne determinacion, 860
 Her bloodshot eies roling within her head,
 Her quiuering chekes flecked with deadly staine,
 Both pale and wan to think on death to come,
 Into the inward wardes of her palace
 She rusheth in, and clam vp, as distraught, 865
 The buriall stack, and drew the Troian swerd,
 Her gift sometime, but ment to no such vse.

- Yet at the least assayled might he be 820
 With armes & warrs of hardie nacions;
 From the bondes of his kingdome farr exiled;
 Iulus eke ravisht owt of his armes;
 Driven to call for helpe, that he maie se
 The wailfull corses of his folke lie dedd. 825
 & after hard condicions of peace,
 His realme, nor life desyred maie he brooke;
 But dye before his tyme, vnburied amidd the sandes.
 This I require; these wordes with blud ishedd.
 &, Tirians, ye his stocke & all his race 830
 Pursue with hate! reward our cindres so!
 No loue nor league betwixt our peoples be!
 And of our bones some wrecker may ther springe,
 With sword & flame that Troianes may pursue!
 And from hencefoorth, when that our powr may stretch, 835
 Our coostes to them contrarie be thei aie,
 I craue of God; that our streames to ther fluddes;
 Armes vnto armes; & ofspringe of ech race!"
- This sayd, her mind she wrythde ouer all sides,
 Seking with spede to ende this yrkesome life. 840
 To Syches nurse, Barcen, then thus she sayd—
 For hers at home in asshes did remaine—:
 "Call vnto me, dere nurse, my sister An;
 Bidd her in haste in water of the floode
 She sprinkle the bodye, & bring the beastes 485
 & purging sacrifice I did her showe.
 So lett her come; & thow thie temples bynde
 With sacred garlandes; for the sacrifice
 That I to Pluto haue begonn, I mynde
 For to perfourme, & geue ende to these cares; 850
 A Troiane statue throwe into the flame."
 When she had sayd, redowble gan her nurse
 Her steppes, forth on an aged womans trott.
- But trembling Dido egerlie now bent
 Vpon her sterne determinacion, 855
 Her bludd shott eien rowling within her hedd,
 Her quiering chekes fleked with deadlie staine,
 Both pale & wanne to thinke on deathe to come,
 Into the inner wardes of her palaice
 She russheth in, & clamme vp, as bestraught, 860
 The buriall stacke, & drew the Troiane sword,
 Her gifte sometime, but ment to no such vse.

Where, when she saw his weed and wel known bed,
 Weping a while, in study gan she stay,
 Fell on the bed, and these last words she said: 870
 "Swete spoiles, whiles God and destenies it wold,
 Receue this sprite, and rid me of these cares!
 I liued and ranne the course fortune did graunt,
 And vnder earth my great gost now shall wende.
 A goodly town I built, and saw my walles, 875
 Happy, alas, to happy, if these costes
 The Troyan shippes had neuer touched aye!"
 This said, she laid her mouth close to the bed.
 "Why then", quoth she, "vnworken shall we die?
 But let vs die, for thus, and in this sort 880
 It liketh vs to seeke the shadowes darck.
 And from the seas the cruel Troyans eies
 Shall wel discern this flame, and take with him
 Eke these vnlucky tokens of my death."
 As she had said, her damsells might perceue 885
 Her with these wordes fal pearced on a sword,
 The blade embrued, and hands besprent with gore.
 The clamor rang vnto the pallace toppe;
 The brute ranne throughout al thastained towne.
 With wailing great, and womens shril yelling 890
 The roffes gan roare, the aire resound with plaint,
 As though Cartage or thauncient town of Tyre
 With prease of entred enemies swarmed full;
 Or when the rage of furious flame doth take
 The temples toppes, and mansions eke of men. 895
 Her sister Anne, spritelesse for dread to heare
 This fearefull sturre, with nailes gan teare her face.
 She smote her brest, and rushed through the rout,
 And her dieng she cleapes thus by her name:
 "Sister, for this with craft did you me bound? 900
 The stak, the flame, the altars, bred they this?
 What shall I first complaine, fosaken wight?
 Lothest thou in death thy sisters felowship?
 Thou shouldst haue calld me to like destiny:
 One wo, one sword, one houre mought end vs both! 905
 This funerall stak built I with these handes,
 And with this voice cleped our natiue gods;
 And, cruel, so absentest me from thy death?
 Destroyd thou hast, sister, both thee and me,
 Thy people eke, and princes borne of Tyre. 910
 Geue here; I shall with water washe her woundes,
 And suck with mouth her breath, if ought be left."

Wher, when she saw his weedes & wellknown bedd,
 Wepinge a while, in studie gan she staye,
 Fell on the bedd, & these last wordes she sayde: 865

"Swete spoiles, whiles God & destenie did permitt,
 Receave this sprite, & ridd me of these cares!
 I ran the course so longe as fortune did yt graunt,
 & vnder earth my great ghost now shall wende.
 A goodlie towne I buylt, & saw my walls, 870
 Happie, alas, to happie, if these coostes
 The Troiane shippes had never towched aie!"

This sayd, she layd her mowth close to the bedd.
 "Whie then," quod she, "vnwroken shall we die?
 But let vs die, for thus, & in this sort 875
 Yt liketh vs to seke the shadows darke.
 & from the seas the crwell Troiane eies
 Shall well discerne this flame, & take with him
 Eke these vnluckie tokens of my deathe."

As she had sayd, her damsells might perceve 880
 Her with those wordes fall persed on the sword,
 The broyling blood with gore, & handes imbrwed.
 The clamer rang vnto the palaice topp;
 The brute ran throwgh all the astoined towne.
 With wailing great, & womens laymenting 885
 The roophes gan rore, the aire resownd with plaint,
 As thowgh Carthage or auncient Tyre
 With presse of entred armes swarmed full;
 Or when the rage of furious flame doth take
 The temples toppes, & mansions eke of men. 890

Her sister An, spriteles for drede to here
 This dreddfull sturr, with nailes gan tere her face.
 She smotte her brest, & russheth throwgh the rowte,
 & dying thus she cleapes her by her name:

"Sister, for this with crafte did you me boorde? 895
 The stacke, the flame, the aulters, bredd thei this?
 What shall I fyrst complaine, forsaken wight?
 Loothest thou in dethe thi sisters felowship?

Thow shuld haue called me to like destenie:
 One woe, one sword, one hower ende both vs two! 900

Thys funerall stacke buylt I vp with these handes,
 & with this voice cleped our natiue godes;
 & crwell, so absentes me from thie deathe?
 Distroid yt hath, sister, both the & me,
 Thie people eke, & princes borne of Tyre. 905
 Geve here; I shall with water washe her woundes,
 & sucke with mowthe her breath, if owght be lefte."

This said, vnto the high degrees she mounted,
 Embrasing fast her sister now half dead,
 With wailefull plaint; whom in her lap she layd, 915
 The black swart gore wiping dry with her clothes.
 But Dido striueth to lift vp againe
 Her heauy eyen, and hath no power thereto:
 Deepe in her brest that fixed wound doth gape.
 Thrise leaning on her elbow gan she raise 920
 Herself vpward, and thrise she ouerthrewe
 Upon the bed, ranging with wandring eies
 The skies for light, and wept when she it found.
 Almighty Iuno hauing ruth by this
 Of her long paines and eke her lingring death, 925
 From heauen she sent the goddesse Iris downe,
 The throwing sprit and iointed limmes to loose.
 For that neither by lot of destiny
 Nor yet by kindly death she perished,
 But wretchedly before her fatall day, 930
 And kindled with a sodein rage of flame,
 Proserpine had not from her head bereft
 The golden heare, nor iudged her to hell.
 The dewye Iris thus with golden wings,
 A thousand hues shewing against the sunne, 935
 Amid the skies then did she flye adowne,
 On Didos head where as she gan alight:
 "This heare", quod she, "to Pluto consecrate,
 Commaunded I reue; and thy spirit vnloose
 From this body." And when she thus had said, 940
 With her right hand she cut the heare in twaine,
 And therwith al the kindly heat gan quench,
 And into wind the life foorthwith resolute.

Thus sayd, vnto the hie degrees she mownted,
 Embracing fast her sister now half deed,
 With wailfull plaint; whom in her lapp she layd, 910
 The blake swart gore wiping drie with her clothes.
 & Dido striveth to lifte vp againe
 Her heavie eien, & hath no power therto:
 Depe in her brest the fixed wound doth gape.
 Thrise leaning on her elbowe gan she raise 915
 Her self vpward, & thrise she ouerthrew
 Vpon the bedd, raginge with wandring eies
 The skies for light, & wept when she it fownde.
 Allmightie Iuno, having ruthe by this
 Of her long paines & eke her lingring deathe, 920
 From heaven she sent the goddes Iris downe,
 The striving sprite & iointed lymmes to loose.
 For that neither by lott of destenie
 Ner yet by naturall death she perished,
 But wretchedlie before her fatall daye, 925
 & kindled with a sodayne rage of flame,
 Proserpine had not from hedd berefte
 The golden herre, nor iudged her to hell.
 The dewie Iris thus with golden winges,
 A thowsand hues showing against the soun, 930
 Amidd the skies then did she fle adowne,
 On Didos hedd wheras she gan alight:
 "This herre," quod she, "to Pluto consecrate,
 I do bereaue; & eke the sprite vnloose
 From thie bodie." & when she had thus sayd, 935
 With her right hand she cutt the herr in twaine,
 & therwith all the naturall heat gan quench,
 & into winde furthwith the life resolve.

NOTES TO THE INTRODUCTION

1. See Bapst, *Deux Gentilshommes—Poètes de la cour de Henry VIII* 153, for full discussion of date of birth.
2. *Calendar State Papers, Spanish, 1529-1530*, no. 228.
3. *Letters and Papers* 5. no. 1626.
4. *Ibid.*
5. *Let. and Pap.* 16. no. 350. Bapst quotes the above from the unabridged letter.
6. See poem 19, vs. 13-18.
7. *Cal. St. Pap., Sp., 1529-1530*, no. 425.
8. Bapst gives 1538 as the year of this event, but on what authority I cannot find.
9. See the notes to all three poems.
10. Manuscript Harleian 296. f. 171, quoted by Bapst.
11. Wriothesley, *Chronicle* 1. 118-120.
12. *Let. and Pap.* 21. 2. no. 555. 1.
13. Anstis, *Register of the Order of the Garter* 2. 423.
14. Bapst, 249, from a manuscript of Bennet College.
15. Bapst, 255.
16. See poem 34, vs. 41-42.
17. See poem 40.
18. Bapst, 256 ff.
19. *Let. and Pap.* 17 nos. 493, 542, 543, 557.
20. See notes to poem 34.
21. See poem 19, v. 7.
22. *Acts of the Privy Council*, quoted by Bapst, 268.
23. Sloane MS. 1523, f. 37, quoted by Bapst, 269.
24. *Let. and Pap.* 18.1. no. 73.
25. See also nos. 74, 315, 327, 347.
26. See poem 32.
27. *Cal. St. Pap., Sp., 1542-1543*, no. 259.
28. *Let. and Pap.* 19.2. no. 176.
29. See poem 47, and notes.
30. Bapst, 316-317.
31. See letter to Henry from Surrey, *Let. and Pap.* 20.2. no. 928; quoted by Bapst, 324.
32. *Let. and Pap.* 20.2. no. 950; quoted by Bapst, 324.
33. See letter from Thomas Hussey to Surrey, under date of Nov. 6, *Let. and Pap.* 20.2 no. 738; quoted by Bapst, 319.
34. I think Bapst is mistaken in his assertion that Surrey visited London in December 1545 at the request of the Privy Council. He finds an allusion to this visit in the letter of the Council to Surrey under date of March 21, 1546 (*Let. and Pap.* 21.1 no. 433): "Upon consideration of all such letters as have been written from thence (Boulogne) and also of such information as *hath been gyven unto His Highness by mouth here by your Lordship.*" I think this refers rather to such oral reports as were made at Surrey's request by Sir Thomas Palmer and Sir Thomas Wyatt, as indicated in Surrey's letter of Dec. 7, and by Ellerker, as indicated in letter of Jan. 8, 1546.

35. *Let. and Pap.* 21.1. no. 33. The French historian, Mouthuc, attributed the victory to the conduct of the French commander, Oudart du Biez, who leapt from his horse, took up a pike, and thus aroused the spirit of his men.

36. *Let. and Pap.* 21.1. no. 81.

37. Poem 9.

38. See poems 21 and 33, and notes.

39. *Let. and Pap.* 20.2. no. 658.

40. These letters are quoted in full by Nott, 207-211.

41. Letter quoted in full by Nott, 224-227.

42. See letter of March 15, Nott, 220.

43. Quoted by Nott, 223.

44. *Let. and Pap.* 21.1. no. 1274.

45. *Let. and Pap.* 21.2. no. 555.4.

46. As Bapst pertinently remarks, the art of heraldry did not exist until the period of the crusades.

47. See MS Heralds College L., fol. 14; MS Harleian 297, fol. 256 b.

48. See Anstis, *Register of the Order of the Garter* 1.175.

49. See notes to poem 54.

50. *Let. and Pap.* 21.2. no. 696,

51. Bapst identifies this Edmund Knyvet with the Edmund Knyvet who in 1541 struck Thomas Clere, the friend of Surrey, within the tennis court of the King's house, and nearly lost his head therefor. According to the *Dictionary of National Biography*, however, the Edmund Knyvet who quarreled with Clere was an uncle of Surrey's cousin and accuser, who died May 1, 1546.

52. *Chronicle of the Grey Friars*, quoted by Bapst, 253.

53. *Let. and Pap.* 21.2. no. 644.

54. *Let. and Pap.* 21.2. no. 756.

55. *Let. and Pap.* 21.2. no. 617.

56. *Let. and Pap.* 22.2. no. 697.

57. See Bapst, 348-349.

58. If one will read this sonnet aloud, throwing the accents where the scansion requires, he will discover that it is pleasant to the ear and light upon the tongue. It is musical, and many of the words are actually more pleasing in sound with the accent thus thrown upon the final syllable. Wyatt had a sensitive ear, and modern readers regard his verse as rough largely because, expecting correspondence between the metrical accent and the thought and word accents, they do not read the verses as Wyatt read them.

59. I have disregarded the poem "Brittle beauteie, that nature made so fraile," as it is very doubtful if Surrey is the author.

The generalization in the text applies, of course, only to those verses in which the accent is required to be thrown on the weak syllable of a noun in order to secure a pleasant and musical line. In the translations from the *Æneid* there are a very large number of verses which, if scanned mechanically, would show the accent resting upon the weak syllables of nouns, verbs, and adjectives. But Surrey appreciated that the very genius of blank verse as an effective narrative medium, aiming at naturalness and vividness of incident and conversation, now hastening and now retarding the movement of the story and ever avoiding monotony, requires the relief of the verse by the occasional use of feet other than the iambus, especially the trochee; the iambus being merely the norm around which the verse plays.

TABLE OF ABBREVIATIONS

A.—*Additional Ms.* 28635.

D.—*Additional Ms.* 17492.

D.—Day, John. *The Fourth Book of Virgill.*

Dg.—Douglas, Gawin, *Works of.*

E.—*Egerton Ms.* 2711.

H.—*Ms. Hargrave* 205.

Harl.—*Ms. Harleian* 78.

Hip.—Hippolito de Medici, Translation of *Æneid*, Book 2.

K.—Koeppel, E. *Studien zur Geschichte des Englischen Petrarchismus.*

Lb.—Nicolo Liburnio. Translation of *Æneid*, Book 4.

N.—Nott, George Frederick, *The Works of Surrey.*

P.—*Additional Ms.* 36529.

Pl.—Piccolomini, Bartolommeo Carli, Translation of *Æneid*, Book 4.

S.—Surrey.

T.—Tottel, *Songes and Sonettes*, or *Certain Bokes of Virgiles Æneis.*

V.—Virgil.

TEXTUAL NOTES

1

T., p. 10.—*Title*: A complaint by night of the louter not beloued.

2

T., p. 4.—8 *second ed.* flete.—*Title*: Description of Spring, wherein eche thing renewes, saue onelic the louter.

3

P. 55b.—10 omitted, probably through carelessness; I have supplied the *v.* conjecturally, from the suggestion of the corresponding *v.* in *T.*

T.'s version (12) differs radically:

I neuer sawe my Ladye laye apart
Her cornet blacke, in colde nor yet in heate,
Sith first she knew my grieve was growen so great,
Which other fansies driueth from my hart
That to my selfe I do the thought reserue,
The which vnwares did wounde my wofull brest:
But on her face mine eyes mought neuer rest,
Yet, sins she knew I did her loue and serue
Her golden tresses cladde alway with blacke,
Her smyling lokes that hid thus euermore,
And that restraines whiche I desire so sore.
So dothe this cornet gouerne me alacke:
In somer, sunne: in winters breath, a frost:
Wherby the light of her faire lokes I lost.

—*Title*: Complaint that his ladie after she knew of his loue kept her face alway hidden from him.

4

P. 55b.—6 doubtful.

Variants in T. (8): 1 that liueth and reigneth in.—2 That built.—7 cloke.—10 whereas he lurkes and plaines. — 12 paynes. — 14 his death, takes his.—*Title*: Complaint of a louter rebuked.

5

P. 56a.—Foll by H. S.—9 snow altered from sone, same hand.

Variants in T. (9): 4 fired flame.—9 An other so colde in frozen yse.—*Title*: Complaint of the louter disdained.

6

P. 57a. *T.* (11) reads as follows:

Set me wheras the sunne doth parche the grene,
Or where his beams do not dissolue the yse;
In temperate heate where he is felt and sene;
In presence prest of people madde or wise.
Set me in hye, or yet in lowe degree:
In longest night, or in the shortest daye:
In clearest skye, or where clowdes thickest be:
In lusty youth, or when my heeres are graye.
Set me in heauen, in earth, or els in hell,
In hyll, or dale, or in the fomyng flood:
Thrall, or at large, aloue where so I dwell:
Sicke, or in health: in euyl fame, or good.
Hers will I be, and onely with this thought
Content my selfe, although my chaunce be nought.

Title: Vow to loue faithfully howsoever he be rewarded.

7

T., p. 10.—*Title*: The fraillie and hurtfulness of beautie.

8

T., p. 12.—*Title*: Request to his loue to ioynе bountie with beautie.

9

T., p. 32.—*Title*: The fansie of a weried louer.

10

P. 56b.—*Foll.* by H. S.

Found also in H., with the variants:—3 shall ensue.

11

P. 50a.—*Foll.* by Ffinis, H. S.—19-20 supplied fr. *T.*—22 might.—28 yet replaced by it above, later hand.—44 t in atgaas seems to replace some earlier letter.—45 she inserted by later hand.—52. or.

Found also in A[24a]. and *H*[115]., with the variants:—1 *A.* the tender grene lacking.—10-40 *A.* lacking, due to mutilation of *Ms.*—19-20 *H.* lacking.—25 *H.* stirs.—44 *A.* *H.* suck.—51 *A.* good will.—53 *A.* fele the wownd yet greene.

Variants in T[1].:—1 his tender.—4 new.—8 the shade.—10 mine.—13 hath.—14 time in time.—15 in time.—17 kindes.—18-19 the couplet in the text.—21 all thing.—22 night.—23 it self.—25 tormentes.—26 and curse.—27 opprest.—28 it doth.—29 trauailes.—33 lest by my chere my chance appere to playn.—34 in my minde.—35 the place.—36 the lace.—44 agazed.—51 of my tene.—*Title*: Description of the restlesse state of a louer, with sute to his ladie, to rue on his diyng hart.

12

T., p. 21.—*Title*: To the Ladie that scorned her louer.

13

T., p. 14.—*Title*: The louer comforteth himself with the worthinesse of his loue.

14

P. 53b.—19 straynith altered from (?) straynneth.—25-29 lacking; supplied from *T.*

Variants in T[24].: sts. 3, 5, and 8 lacking.

—13 First when, those.—14 my mortall.—15 within her. 22 and blinde Cupide did whippe.—31 in paine to put.—32 mine vnrest.—*Title*: The louer describes his restlesse state.

15

P. 54a.—*Foll.* by Ffinis, H. S.—9 sightes.—27 e of blynde doubtful.—28 sparskled. ----

Variants in T[5].:—2 me cause.—6 misguiding me had led the way.—7 mine eyen.—8 had made me lose a better.—9 sighes.—10 with game.—11 the boiling smoke.—12 the persaunt heate of secrete flame.—13 doe bayne.—15 her bewty hath the fruites.—22 glowing red.—24 wherin.—*Title*: Description of the restlesse state of a louer.

16

T., p. 22.—27 second ed. troubles.—*Title*: The forsaken louer describeth and forsaketh loue.

17

T., p. 24.—*Title*: The louer excuseth himself of suspected change.

18

T., p. 20.—21 second ed. by lawe of kinde.—*Title*: A praise of his loue: wherein he reproueth them that compare their Ladies with his.

19

T., p. 217.—*Title*: The constant louer lamenteth.

20

Found in Harl. 30b; and in T(241), where the poem is not assigned to Surrey. As each of these versions appears corrupt, the text has been compiled from the two.

Variants in Harl:—3 the foyle.—4 to say.—7 to repent.—9 raging will, wanton youthe.—13 heaven.—17 his.—18 for.—21 now ther.—23 is good.—25-30 wanting.—*Foll. by Ffinis.*

Variants in T.:—7 to finde.—10 Which we haue.—11 From Sicilla to Caribdis cliues.—*Title:* The louter disceiued by his love repenteth him of the true loue he bare her.

21

T., p. 15.—Found also in D. 55a, where the hand is very slovenly, words, and even lines, being scratched out, to be replaced by slightly different spellings. Variants:—8 a shepe, remiemberances.—9 wordes.—10 guernances.—12 wante off.—25 nyghtes.—30 sswalle by rayges.—32 assales.—38 makes me to playne.—40 my mowrtht.—*Title:* Complaint of the absence of her louter being upon the sea.

The first stanza is in Harl (30b).

22

P. 53a.—I wais replaces wailes later hand.—12 do inserted, same hand.—30 his crossed out and replaced by an, later hand.—31-32 wanting; supplied from A.—36 e of colde doubtful

Found also in A[26a], with the variants:—1 wayes.—2 wills doth.—5 and causeth.—11 me lacking.—13 and lettes.—21 dead.—22 cheekes.—30 in fume.—31-32 couplet in the text.—35 lover.—41 the fyer.—43 a yolden.—44 mashe.—46 glyntt.

Variants in T[6]:—1 waies.—2 doe.—4 whom.—5 He makes the one to rage.—6 other.—10 a depe dark hel.—11 and me withholdes.—12 willes me that my.—14 were lost.—15 So, may turne.—17 content my self.—19 harmes, dissembling.—24 wote.—30 in fume.—31-32 the couplet: and though he list to se his ladies grace ful sore,/such pleasures as delight the eye doe not his health restore.—36 (alas who would beleue?).—39 with others help.—42 I burne, I wast, I leze.—43 a yelding.—45 or els with seldom swete to season.—48 wil printe.—49 the slipper, the sodain.—50 the doubtful, the certain.—*Title:* Description of the fickle affections panges and sleightes of loue.

23

T., p. 7.—Variants in the second ed.:—6 woes.—34 vnwittingly.—39 I.—41 expressed.—*Title:* Complaint of a louter, that defied loue, and was by loue after the more tormented.

24

T., p. 16.—Variants:—73 first ed. had; second ed. hath.—*Title:* Complaint of a dying louter refused vpon his ladies iniust mistaking of his writyng.

25

T., p. 22.—7second ed. my well beloued.—Title: A warning to the louter how he is abused by his loue.

26

T., p. 26.—1 second ed. walkt.—3 all eds. read howl.—12 Ye for yet.—14 first ed. go, second ed. grow.—Title: A careless man, scorning and describing, the suttile vsage of women towarde their louters.

27

A. 23a.—Foll. by Ffinis.—13 slyttes.—27 stykes.—30 and before eke inserted; same hand—32 them inserted; same hand.

Variants in T. [198]: 6 seke for to take.—7 Whose practise yf were proued.—8 Assuredly beleue it well it were to great.—10 could.—14 full well.—16 With will.—17 had ioynde.—21-38 missing.—*Title:* Of the dissembling louter. *T. attributes it to an "uncertain author".*

28

T., p. 220.—*Title*: The faithfull louer declareth his paines and his vncertain ioies, and with only hope recomforteth somewhat his wofull heart.

29

P. 55a.—*Foll.* by H. S.—6 an *inserted before erle, diff. hand.*—11 *furst inserted; same hand.*—13 of kind *replaces orig.* her mate *or* her mace.

Variants in T(9).:—6 an erle.—8 *no article*, tasteth costly.—13 Her beauty.—14 *can.*—*Title*: Description and praise of his loue Geraldine.

30

P. 55a.—*Foll.* by H. S.—*orig.* plat.—12 *before distill stands doth, crossed out.*—14 have altered from half; *hand uncertain.*

31

P. 51a.—*Foll.* by Ffinis, H. S.—49 Eache; *reading supplied from T.*—54 in releif, *it looks as if the writer started to make a y, and then altered it to i.*

Found also in H[117].; no variants.

Variants in T[13].:—9 seates.—16 leads.—19 though one should anotherwhelme.—23 trayned with.—29 holtes.—32 of force.—33 wide vales eke.—40 night.—47 doest.—49 Eccho.—*Titles* Prisoned in Windsor, he recounteth his pleasure there passed.

32

P. 52a.—*Foll.* by Ffynis, H. H.—10 lest.—22 Sceptures.—61 they.

Found also in A[25a]., with the variant:—66 vnto thie rightuous.

33

A. 31a.—*Foll.* by Ffinis. Preston.—15-16 *lacking.*—30 Bearkes.—31 fyndes.

Variants in T[19].: 11 Whome I was wont tembrace with well contended minde.—12 winde.—13 Where, well him, sone him home me.—15-16 *couplet in text.*—17 oft times do greue.—18 that when I wake I lye in doute where.—19 me semes do grow.—20 dere Lord ay me alas me thinkes I see him die.—21 with his faire little sonne.—24 I say welcome my lord.—30 breake, huge vnrest.—31 finde.—34 sum hidden place, wherein to slake the gnawing of my mind.—36 no cure I find, good return.—37 saue whan I think, by sowre.—39 and then vnto my self I say when we shall meete.—40 litle while, the ioy.—41 I you coniure.—43 this excesse.—*Title*: Complaint of the absence of her louer being vpon the sea.

34

A. 27a.—*Foll.* by Ffinis.

Variants in T[218].: 2 can shew.—3 I late.—5 the gentle, it pleased.—6 he semed well.—10 of fresher.—11 were coy.—12 vnto the which.—17 With that she.—20 nor al.—22 go range.—23 With that he.—25 his wrath.—35 your self haue heard.—37 both *omitted.*—40 to lese his life.—41 whose liues.—42 their willes preserued ar, right *omitted.*—43 But now I doe, it moueth.—47 our kyndes.—48 your frendes.—49 am fled.—52 on such.—53 coyed.—54 be trapt, with such.—55 lust to loue.—56 of currant sort.—60 nor lure nor.—64 this your refuse.—65 And for reuenge therof.—66 I thousand.—69 bent and bow.—70 sailes.—72 with bloody mouth go slake your thirst on simple shepe I say.—*Title*: A song written by the earle of Surrey to a lady that refused to daunce with him.

35

P. 63a.

Found also in A[28b]., without variants.

36

P. 63b.—1 sonnden.

Found also in A(29b)., without variants.

37

T., p. 31.—8 *first ed.* his prison; *second ed.* this prison.—*Title*: Bonum est mihi quod humiliasti me.

38

P. 56a.—*Foll* by H. S.—6 Spalmes.—13 yprinted *altered from* imprinted, *same hand*.
Found also in E[85b]., without variants.

Variants in T[28].: 3 dan Homers.—13 imprinted.—14 ought.—*Title*: Praise of certain psalms of David, translated by Sir. T. W. the elder.

39

T. p. 32.—*Title*: Exhortacion to learne by others trouble.

40

P. 56b.—*Foll.* by H. S.

Variants in T(30).:—1 Thassirian.—3 on fire.—4 Did yeld, vanquisht.—5 dint.—10 and womanish.—11 impacient.—*Title*: Of Sardinapalus dishonorable life and miserable death.

41

P. 54b.—*Foli.* by H. S.—8 contynvance *altered from* contenaunce, *same hand*.—12 sovcranty *altered from* soventy, *same hand*.

Variants in T[27].: 1 that do.—5 no strife.—10 trew wisdom ioyned with simplenesse.—12 the wit may not oppresse.—13 the faithful wife, without.—16 ne wish for death, ne.—*Title*: The meanes to attain happy life.

42

T., p. 27.—*Title*: Praise of meane and constant estate.

Found also in Harl (29a)., where the poem is subjected to rather elaborate corrections, in the same hand, but in different ink. Variants in the original ms. version: 1 the compas.—3 forshunnynge.—5 Who gladly halsethe.—7 dene vnplayne.—9 The lustyer pyne the greater wyndes oft it rues.—10 sueight; *false omitted*.—11 And lyghtninges assalyt hiegh mountaynes & cleves.—12 A hoort well scholed in ouer hartes depe.—13 ameniment; *ferethe*.—14 Wynter smarte.—16 Bowe vnben shall cease & vvice frame to sharpe.—17 In streight estate appere thou hardie and stoute.—18 when full vnlucky.—20 rief. *Foll.* by Ffnis.

Variants in the revised ms. version: 1 this.—4 Lest on.—5 enhalsethe.—9 it *omitted*.—10 sueightes fall.—13 Hopes amendment.—14 sharpe.

43

A. 26a.—*Foll.* by Ffnis.

Variants in T(30).: 4 doth.—16 dented chewes.—*Title*: How no age is content with his own estate, and how the age of children is the happiest, if they had skill to understand it.

44

P. 56b.—*Foll.* by H. S.

Variants in T(218).: 1 knowledge was not rife.—2 other were.—3 conuert.—4 wende.—5 yet no voyde.—12 we led to vertues traine.—13 brestes.—14 they do eate.—*Title*: A praise of Sir Thomas Wyate th[e] elder for his excellent learning.

45

P. 57a.—*Foll* by H. S. *A note reads* "Here ende my Ld. of Surreys Poems." *Variant in T (28).*: 2 thy liuely hed.—*Title*: Of the death of the same Sir T. W.

46

T., p. 29.—*Title*: Of the same.

47

Camden's Remains, p. 514.—2 high.—12 seven times seven.

Found also in John Aubrey, History of Surrey 5.247, with the variant:—2 Count, thou.

48

P. 58b.—27 straunge replaced by all; *hand uncertain.*—31 I replaces some erased word; *hand uncertain.*—39 therby.—*Foll.* by Finis.

Found also in A(32a)., with the foll. variants:—16 dischargde.—27 all thinges under.

49

P. 59a.—22 times.—43 ligh(t)some.—54 r(e)garde.—79 hards.—82m(a)y. *Foll.* by Finis.

Found also in A(32b)., with the foll. variants:—9 I mynd.—22 tewnes.—26 so.—72 the broken sleapes.—74 frewte or with paynes.

50

P. 59b.—10 reuiues replaces reioyce; *diff. hand.*—33 seke.—43 sore *orig.* fore.—44 wheras that replaced by eke wher; *diff. hand.*—55 hathe ether geuen to man *revised to* hath geuen to ether man; *diff. hand.*—66 fore inserted; *hand uncertain.*—*Foll.* by Finis.

Found also in A(33b)., with the foll. variants:—44 where.—51 This errour.

51

P. 61a.—13 earles folke; ease replaces eache; *prob. same hand.*—22 the trauill.—26 spends.—34 thre fould inserted; *diff. hand.*—45 change replaced by deth; *diff. hand.*—58 re of unsaureth inserted; *prob. diff. hand.* goe.—54 yolden ghost.

Found also in A(34b)., with the foll. variants:—13 thought sloothe and carelesse.—44 goe.—54 yolden ghost.

52

P. 62a.—4 fayth, not *alt.* to none; *hand uncertain.*—15 er of better crossed out.—17 words *alt.* to works; *hand uncertain.*—27 out *alt.* to outer; *prob. another hand;* our: *ms. note by Percy.*—29 the replaced by to; *hand uncertain.*—32 toiling inserted before hand, then itself replaced by tillers, *diff. hands.*—35 hordith: *ms. note by Percy.*—43 gredy replaced by righteous; *gredy a clerical error through anticipation of the word later in the line.*—48 armes: *ms. note by Percy;* furst *alt.* to fyrst.—50 boote: *ms. note by Percy.*—52 that that *alt.* to that those, and again to then that; *diff. hands.*—61 ne replaced by no; *diff. hand.*—*Foll.* by Finis.

Found also in A(34a)., with the foll. variants:—4 none prevayle.—14 lustes.—15 bet.—17 workes.—27 withouten.—28 our secreat.—29 to lyving.—48 armes of povertie.

53

A. 28a. *Latin title supplied.*—34 list inserted.—*Foll.* by Finis.

54

P. 65a.—7 of dred inserted after cold, *diff. hand.*—11 e inserted in spady; i of thei replaces *orig.* n, same hand; later, altered to they; *diff. hand.*—15 kept the wallles altered to do keep wallles; *diff. hand or hands.*—16 whiles myscheif altered to whiles myscheif eke and later to myscheif ioyned.—18 then replaced by ne; *diff. hand.*—20 not replaced by for; *diff. hand.*—21 not crossed out; *diff. hand.*—26 them hell altered to hym hele; *diff. hand.*—47 phalme.—*Preceded by Exaudi Deus Orationem Meam.*—*Foll.* by Finis.

Found also in A(30b)., with the foll. variants:—2 herken.—16 and myschief joynede.—18 ne my.—26 hym self devoure.—29 aulture.—*The Latin line foll.* by id est, cast thie care uppon the Lord and he shall norishe the.

55

P. 63a.—27 blasted.—*Preceded by Domine Deus Salutis. Foll. by Finis.*

Found also in *A(28b)*., with the foll. variants:—4 as in.—9 me cast.—17 do.—24 thie praise.—26 nor.—27 blazed, mowthes.—44 to my.

56

P. 64a.—14 glutton *alt. to* gluttid; *diff. hand.*—17 that frame.—18 *final s of* skourges *crossed out.*—25 doth *inserted after* lord; *diff. hand.*—27 inquititye.—30 affects.—47 fleshe *alt. to* fleerce; *diff. hand.*—49 rare *alt. to* care; *diff. hand.*—*Preceded by Quum Bonus Israel Deus.—Foll. by Finis.*

Found also in *A(29b)*., with the foll. variants:—14 gluttid.—18 skourdge.—22 with cupps.—33 beholde.—35 and whan.—47 goolden fleerce.—59 others succours.

57

Headed: The second boke of Virgiles Aenacis.—147 pleased.—284 twine.—327 fouth.—335 *Foll. by line:* By cordes let fal fast gan they slide adown.—924 felow.—926 liue.—962 amazde. *N. emends to read* could make amazed.—987 ccompanie.—1026 mine wanting.

58

H. headed: *P. Vergilii Maronis Aeneidos Liber Quartus Britannice Sermoni Donatus per Comitem S.*—*H. 8 Gloss:* The description of the tyme.—*H. 10 Gloss:* The talke of a lover.—*H. 15 of how.*—*H. 31 Gloss:* A calling upon the godes, wherin, by reasons advice, she requires to resist yis force of love.—*T. 54* forthrust.—*H. 56* move *before* touch *crossed out.*—*H. 58* sufferance.—*H. 72* with offred steres.—*T. 88* to *omitted.*—*T. 92* flight.—*H. 106* he she heres.—*H. 107* with hold *before* she *crossed out.*—*H. 109* them.—*H. 116* faine resist to.—*H. 120* wills.—*H. 128* then (them?) commend.—*T. 141* at for art.—*H. 163* soone.—*T. 222* faut.—*H. 226* strength.—*H. 247 line* supplied from *T.*—*H. 266* rich *replaces* with *crossed out.*—*H. 281* hedd *before* looke *crossed out.*—*H. 304* ou.—*H. 315* awaie *before* amidd *crossed out.*—*T. 327* thend.—*T. 334* the *omitted.*—*H. 346* Whi buildest; th *crossed out;* thy time supplied from *T.*—*T. 347* he *omitted.*—*H. 349* before lust some letter *crossed out.*—*H. 360* to leave supplied from *T.*—*H. 379* fleight.—*H. 383* flame.—*H. 392* lengh.—*H. 428* lenghe.—*H. 433* these wordes.—*T. 435* sielfe.—*T. 439* men.—*T. 441* men for me in.—*H. 441* life *before* will *crossed out.*—*T. 443* haue haue.—*T. 447* thee for the.—*H. 455* shadowe.—*H. 469* pronowne.—*T. 475* silence.—*H. 489* now *before* lo *crossed out.*—*T. 505* thase.—*H. 506* I this.—*H. 522* the kele talowed.—*H. 558* ne pulled *replaces* aye; *same hand.*—*H. 561* originally grauntes.—*H. 583* rore.—*H. 584* ther croppes.—*H. 610* her corrected from his.—*H. 622* seking.—*H. 625* se *crossed out after* within.—*H. 638* Hesperians.—*H. 639* garden.—*H. 659* man *instead of* nonne.—*H. 663* men.—*H. 673* funeralles.—*H. 678* iiiiC.—*H. 698* quiet.—*H. 762* gett *before* Awake *crossed out.*—*H. 765* wretched.—*H. 770* vnshethles.—*H. 787* all *before* owt *crossed out.*—*H. 796* I *before* not *crossed out.*—*T. 797* So.—*T. 798* goodes.—*H. 807* says *instead of* sunne.—*H. 830* (?) yea.—*H. 835 line* supplied from *T.*—*H. 853* for A *instead of* forth on.—*T. 855* herforme.—*H. 864* in *before* wepinge *crossed out.*—*H. 871* towne *before* alas *crossed out.*—*H. 874* quod she above; *same hand.*—*H. 882* handes & *before* eke *crossed out and inserted after it.*—*T. 885* damsell.—*H. 905* & *before* eke *crossed out.*—*H. 906* thi *before* her *crossed out.*—*H. 915* a of raise *inserted above.*—*H. followed by finis.*

VARIANTS IN D

(The following table gives all the readings in D. which vary from the readings in T. The verses are numbered as in T.)

26 Ay me, since, Sicheus.—27 fewde defiled.—28 he hath my sences bent.—32 with thunder or.—34 or, lawe.—36 My love which (?) still enjoye he in grave.—37 surprised.—41 That, nor.—42 Doeth dust.—44 Iarbas not to feere.—45 The Libian king dyspised yet by thee.—48 wythstande the love that likes thee.—49 *Omits*.—50 in.—52 And for eke.—53 Wyth Syrtes the unfriendly.—54 for thurst.—67 starre.—73 as they ought.—84 *omits* A, maryes.—88 yshotte.—90 fasteneth in her unaware.—91 left in her unwist.—96 the.—98 Troians.—99 stared.—101 repysed the dayelyght.—106 withholdes.—107 Ascanus.—108 *adds* that *before* cannot.—111 *omits* mete.—113 threatening to.—114 in effect.—115 Wyth a pestilence.—116 burdeneth *for* burdes.—119 wylles.—121 to suspect.—126 loves and burnes, the rage her bones doth perse.—127 is then now common.—130 dowry.—132 from desmembled mind.—140 in a.—149 The forest till.—152 Dum trepidant ale.—153 The raunger doth set the groues about.—154 *omits* I shall.—155 on them.—162 seem to graunt.—163 fast.—166 Unto.—171 there the Quene awayte.—174 backed with a grete rout.—177 wounde up in.—189 *omits* that.—190 he prest.—194 in countenance present.—198 whereas theyre course.—199 trompes.—204 tymerous.—209 coltage.—210 arounde.—211 the Troyan prince likewyse.—216 wayted.—217 foremost day of myrthe.—218 myshappe.—219 withheld.—226 on hye.—227 Percing the.—231 *omits*.—232 for to tell.—233 For, plume.—236 harkening.—237 cloudes and skie.—239 delyne *instead of* decline.—240 see.—242 *omits* as, blasting.—247 Aeneas comen sprong of Troyan bloode.—249 In Natures lust the winter for to passe.—250 Regnorum immemores turpique.—251 cupidine captos.—252 the mouthes.—256 ravisht Garamantida.—257 temples in his large realme.—258 *lacking*.—259 Altars as many with waker burning flame.—260 to attend.—261 Flowers embrused yelded bloode of beastes.—263 bryntes.—264 Afore the aulters.—269 the *for* thy.—270 Whose flames of fyre.—271 A wandring woman.—272 village.—278 the.—282 And with his loke gan thwart.—289 reporte.—292 but Italye to rule.—293 *lacking*.—295 Discovering, tencryne.—299 doth he envy.—300 To yong Ascanus that is his father.—305 *omits* and end.—306 messenger, Then Mercurie gan.—307 When Jove had said, bend.—310 the.—312 other some also.—313 thyther he sendes; *line differently divided*.—318 And.—320 sholders.—321 forcrowne.—324 frosted heard.—326 wyth the body.—327 extent.—330 Rushing.—334 For towers.—337 *lacking*.—339 His shyning pawle of myghty Didos gifte.—343 a maryed man.—345 skies bright.—345 that by.—348 there.—349 Why buildest thou, by.—350 thus wastes.—352 lystes.—358 vanysheth.—364 By the advise.—367 dare.—369 discussing.—374 drewe.—376 change of thinges, ascuse.—380 chasten.—387 shippe.—389 Bachus munite.—390 Bacchatur—Cithaeron.—(Virgil's lines 301-3 quoted *instead of* any translation corresponding to T. 390-4).—395 thus bordes she AE. of herself.—396 flyght *instead of* fault.—401 Cruel, to trie, boysterous.—403 *omits* yet.—413 The Libians and Tirians, tyrans of Nomadane.—414 ar wrothe.—415 My shamefastnes eke stained for thy cause.—417 came.—421 To tary till.—424 the, conceived.—426 To play.—431 These wordes yet at last then forth.—436 synowes.—437 It is not grete the thyng that I requyre.—438 Neyther.—441 *omits* me in.—444 redout.—446 escaped.—450 wyll me advise.—451 lease.—453 of Phoenix land.—456 resydence.—457 it is.—461 doth me feare and advise.—463 Hisprian.—475 sylence; *same misprint*.—477 thy dame ne Goddes was.—479 Tancase.—487 There is no fayth, so surety.—489 *adds* foolyshe *before* eke.—492 am.—494 *adds* the *before* Gods.—503 byre.—500 thys.—521 To wayle.—522 By the etc.—525 charged.—526 *adds* the *before* wood.—529 buige.—537 syghtes.—542 and.—543 and yeld.—544 *omits* and.—548 strayned sayle abideth.—552 nevertheless; *adds* a *before* wretched.—554 and eke.—557 in.—561 ay.—563 for to entreat.—564 hys.—576 well-rendred.—577 Myngled.—578 bryng.—580 He harkens though that he were mylde of kynde.—581 Destenies.—582 boysterous.—584 Blowing now from this, now from that quarter,

blow.—587 hys.—589 hys.—590 as, hys.—595 Wyshed, yrketh.—601 geare.—602 Which syght, not.—607 Wher oft.—608 Clypping.—609 complayne.—610 to dray his playning tunes.—614 be-
 straught.—615 *omits* left.—616 Unwayted on.—617 folkes.—626 hugly.—632 *omits* a.—
 635 thende of the great Octian.—636 the sun dyscendeth and declynes.—641 Of the Hysperiane
 sisters temple.—642 *lacking*.—643 The garden that gyves the Dragon food.—645 (?).
 poppy that slepe provokes.—651 The gostes that walk by night eke to assemble.—653 fall.
 —655 *omits* to me.—671 Then, Sicheus.—672 *lacking*.—673 But the Quene when the stake was
 reared up.—676 then she doth.—678 forsooke.—679 on hys.—684 eke.—685 *omits* and eke;
 Proserpina.—688 Like unto the.—689 reaped up.—691 Theyr.—700 Of lovers unequall in
 behest.—707 longes remaynde.—709 that.—713 might rest in eye nor brest cold enter.—714
omits doth.—719 nunned.—726 Or scorned me.—728 doest thou wotte.—729 Or smell the
 broken othes.—733 with Ire.—737 *omits* first.—739 Did, wyshe.—734 Sicheus.—744 com-
 plaint.—745 certayne.—756 Certayne of death.—757 flye.—759 stald all.—761 onsyde.—762
omits For.—765 from.—768 Joue.—777 wrest.—782 creaking.—783 the *added before* navye.—
 785 three.—787 hence.—791 and *added before* out; *otherwise like T*.—796 when thou with
 hym devydedst.—797 The Scepture.—798 goodes.—810 fall myself theyr.—812 knowes.—815
adds eke *after* furies.—822 *omits* it.—832 unburyed.—839 Now; *omits* that our.—843 *lacking*.
 —844 over.—845 thys.—846 then briefly.—855 Is to reform.—859 all egerly.—871 desteny did
 permytte.—877 Troian.—886 the.—887 The bolyng bloud with gore and handes embrued.—
 890 lamenting.—892 auncient towne.—899 And dyeng thus she cleapes her.—907 Or.—908 As
 cruel for to absent.—910 at Tyre.—916 geare.—917 But, strave.—919 under.—932 *adds* yet
after not.—939 *adds* eke *after* and.

CRITICAL NOTES

1

Adapted from Petrarca *Sonetto in Vita* 113:

Or che 'l ciel e la terra e 'l vento tace,
E le fere e gli augelli il sonno affrena,
Notte 'l carro stellato in giro mena,
E nel suo letto il mar senz'onda giace;
Veggio, penso, ardo, piango; e chi mi sface
Sempre m'è innanzi per mia dolce pena:
Guerra è 'l mio stato, d'ira e di duol piena;
E sol di lei pensando ho qualche pace.
Così sol d'una chiara fonte viva
Move 'l dolce e l'amaro ond'io mi pasco;
Una man sola mi risana e punge,
E perchè 'l mio martir non giunga a riva,
Mille volte il dì moro e mille nasco
Tanto dalla salute mia son lunge.

Surrey's sonnet, with its abrupt opening, its more dramatic antithesis, and its superior interpretation of nature, is much the finer of the two. The opening verses, and especially the noble fifth verse, are prophetic of the Georgian poets.

2

Adapted from Petrarca *Sonetto in Morte* 42:

Zefiro torna, e 'l bel tempo rimena,
E i fiori e l'erbe, sua dolce famiglia,
E garrir Progne e planger Filomena.
E primavera candida e vermiglia.
Ridono i prati, e 'l ciel si rasserena;
Giove s'allegria di mirar sua figlia;
L'aria e l'acqua e la terra è d'amor piena;
Ogni animal d'amar si consiglia.
Ma per me, lasso, tornano i più gravi
Sospiri, che dal cor profondo tragge
Quella ch' al Ciel se ne portò le chiavi;
E cantare augelletti, e fiorir piagge,
E 'n belle donne oneste atti soavi,
Sono un deserto, e fere aspre e selvagge.

Petrarca's spring is typically Italian with its smiling plains and serene sky, and Zephyrus and Venus are introduced as in the beautiful spring pieces of Botticelli. Surrey's sonnet is as typically English with its green-clad hills and dales, its blossoming hedgerows and shady streams. It is the spring of Chaucer's Prologue and of such lyrics as *Sumer is icumen in*. Note that Surrey minimizes the lover's complaint to dwell longer upon nature.

10. Cf. *Parliament of Fowles* 353: The swallow, murderer of the bees smale.

3

Translated from Petrarca *Ballata* 1:

Lassare il velo o per Sole o per ombra,
Donna, non vi vid'io,
Poi che'n me conosceste il gran desio
Ch' ogni altra voglia d'entr' al cor mi sgombra,
Mentr'io portava i be' pensier celati
C'hanno la mente desiando morta,
Vidivi di pletate ornare il volto:
Ma poi ch'Amor di me vi fece accorta,
Fur i biondi capelli allor velati,
E l'amoroso sguardo in se raccolto.
Quel ch' i' più desiava in voi, m'è tolto;
Sì mi governa il velo,
Che per mia morte, ed al caldo ed al gelo.
De' be' vostr' occhi il dolce lume adombra.

4

Translated from Pet. *Son. in Vita* 91:

Amor, che nel pensier mio vive e regna,
E 'l suo seggio maggior nel mio cor tene,
Talor armato nella fronte vene,
Ivi sì loca ed ivi pon sua insegna.
Quella ch' amare e sofferrir ne 'nsegna,
E vuol che 'l gran desio, l' accesa spene,
Ragion, vergogna e reverenza affrene;
Dì nostro ardir fra se stessa si sdenga.
Onde Amor paventoso fugge al core,
Lassando ogni sua impresa, e piagne e trema;
Ivi s' asconde, e non appar più fore.
Che poss'io far, tremendo il mio Signore,
Se non star seco infin all'ora estrema?
Che bel fin fa chi ben amando more.

The translation is more lively and dramatic than the original. By careful compression Surrey is able to add the thought that Love's arms are those "wherein with me he fought," thus securing later the fine contrast between the ease with which Love subdued the lover and his ignominious flight from the presence of the lady.

It is interesting to compare Wyatt's translation of the same sonnet, a translation which is vigorous, but rough:

The longe love, that in my thought doeth harbor,
And in my hert doeth kepe his residence,
Intoo my face preaseth with bolde pretence,
And therin campeth, spreding his baner.
She that mee lerns too love and suffre,
And willes that in my trust and lustes negligence
Be rayned by reason, shame & reverence,
With his hardines takis displeasur.
Where with all, untoo the herte forrest hee fleith,
Leving his enterprise, with payne & cry,
And there him hideth & not appereth.
What may I doo, when my maister fereth,
But, in the felde, with him too lyve & dye,
For goode is the life ending faithfully.—(Edgerton Ms. 5a.)

5

This fancy may have been suggested by Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* 1.78:

E questo hanno causato due fontane.
Che di diverso effetto hanno liquore;
Ambe in Ardenna, e non sono lontane.
D' amoroso desio l' una empie il core;
Chi bee de l' altra senza amor rimane,
E volge tutto in ghiaccio il primo ardore.
Rinaldo gustò d' una, e amor lo strugge;
Angelica de l' altra, a l' odia e fugge.

Rajna, *Le Fonti dell' Orlando Furioso* 93-95 (1900) discusses at length the Italian and Classical analogues.

6

Translated from Pet. *Son. in Vita* 95:

Ponmi ove 'l Sol occide i fiori e l'erba,
O dove vince lui 'l ghiaccio e la neve;
Ponmi ov' è 'l carro suo temprato e leve,
Ed ov' è chi cel rende o chi cel serba,
Ponm' in umil fortuna, od in superba,
Al dolce aere sereno, al fosco e greve;
Ponmi alia notte, al dì lungo ed al breve,
Alla matura etate od all' acerba;
Ponm' in cielo od in terra od in abisso,
In alto poggio, in valle ima e palustre,
Libero spirto od a' suoi membri affisso;
Ponmi con fama oscura o con illustre:
Sarò qual ful, vivrò com' io son visso,
Continuando il mio sospir trillustre.

Petrarca, in turn, was indebted to Horace 1. 22:

Pone me, pigris ubi nulla campis
Arbor aestiva recreatur aura,
Quod latus mundi nebulae malusque
Juppiter urget;
Pone sub curru nimium propinqui
Solis in terra domibus negata;
Dulce ridentem Lalagen amabo,
Dulce loquentem.

4. This verse, interpolated by Surrey, contrasts the flippant and intolerant ignorance of the proud with the humility of the sage. Tottel's substitution, "In presence prest of people madde or wise", is much less effective.

7

In *Ms. A.* this sonnet, lacking vs. 10 and 12, is assigned to Lrd Vaux. If by Surrey, it is not Surrey at his best: the alliteration is unduly studied and the imagery common, and the primitive tendency to two strong beats in each half of a verse is much less pronounced in any of Surrey's unquestioned poems. Nott cites the double rhymes as evidence that Surrey did not write the poem, concluding with the statement: "If this poem be Surrey's, it is the only piece of his in which double rhymes occur." Yet the fine poem, "Alas so all thinges nowe doe holde their peace", which immediately precedes in Nott's edition, has the same rhyme scheme.

1-3. Cf. *Pet.Son. in Morte* 63.1-2:

Questo nostro caduco e fragil bene,
Ch' è vento ed ombra ed ha nome beltate.

Cf. also Lydgate, *Beware of Doubleness* 49-52 (Skeat, *Supplement to Chaucer* 292):

What man y-may the wind restrain,
Or holden a snake by the tail!
Who may a slipper eel constrain
That it will void withouten fail?

Puttenham has incorporated in *The Arte of English Poesie* (Arber, p. 136) a poem in imitation of this sonnet, prefaced by the statement that it is "our owne, made to daunt the insolence of a beautiful woman":

Brittle beauty, blossome daily fading;
Morne, noone, and eue, in age and eke in eld,
Dangerous, disdainefull, pleasantly perswading;
Easie to gripe, but cumbrous to weld;
For slender bottome, hard and heauy lading;
Gay for a while, but little while durable;
Suspicious, incertaine, irrevocable,
O! since thou art by triall not to trust,
Wisedom it is, and it is also iust,
To sound the stemme before the tree be feld;
That is, since death vwill driue vs all to dust,
To leaue thy loue ere that vve be compeld.

8

1-8. "Nature's precious gift of beauty (fourme and fauour), wherewith you engage your friends, bestowing your charms upon them (fede them), is an earnest that you are designed to show forth the supreme skill of Nature; Nature, whose workings are not so unknown but the alert spirit may divine that where beauty so perfect has been implanted, the fruit of other graces must needs appear."

9. The second and fourth editions of *T.* read *Garret* instead of *Ladie*. *Garret* was a common version of the name Fitzgerald, and this sonnet, like No. 29, is thus associated with the name of Elizabeth Fitzgerald. What was the original reading? Did the two readings exist in manuscript form, and if so does one of them represent a correction made by the author? Did the editor adopt *Ladie* for the first edition to universalize the poem? Did he then change the reading to *Garret* in the second edition to please Elizabeth Fitzgerald? It should be borne in mind that in July, 1557, the date of the second edition, Edward Fiennes de Clinton, the husband of Elizabeth, as Lord High Admiral held the centre of the stage, directing the naval operations on the outcome of which the destiny of England was thought to depend. In any case, why should the reading have been changed four times in the first five editions? It was probably more than mere chance.

4. This neo-Platonic conceit was very popular in Renaissance amatory verse. Cf. *Pet. Son. in Vita* 108.1-4:

In qual parte del Cie! in qual idea
Era l' esempio onde Natura tolse
Quel bel viso leggiadro, in ch' ella volse
Mostrar quaggiù quanto lassù potea?

Cf. also *Son. in Vita* 190, which suggested to a long line of sonneteers, Italian, French and English, that Heaven was jealous of its perfect product and would not long spare it to earth:

Chi vuol veder quantunque può Natura
E'l Ciel tra noi, venga a mirar costei,
Ch' è sola un Sol, non pur agli occhi miei
Ma al mondo cieco, che virtù non cura.
E venga tosto, perchè Morte fura
Prima i migliori, e lascia star i rei:
Questa, aspettata al regno degli Dei,
Cosa bella mortal passa e non dura.

Surrey was also familiar, of course, with *Troilus and Criseyde* 1.99-105:

Criseyde was this lady name a-right;
As to my dome, in all Troyes citee
Nas noon so fair, for passing every wight
So aungellyk was hir natyf beautee,
That lyk a thing immortal seemed she,
As doth an hevenish parfit creature,
That doun were sent in scorning of nature.

9

The allusion in v. 12 shows that this sonnet was written sometime between Sept. 1545 and March 1546, while Surrey was commander of Boulogne and lieutenant-general on the continent, with his headquarters in the Lower Town of Boulogne. This is significant, as it shows that Surrey's interest in sonnets was not confined to his earlier poetical efforts. In October Surrey had requested that his wife might join him in France, a request that was finally refused in March, on the ground that "trouble and disquietness unmeet for woman's imbecilities" were approaching. Bapst thinks that this sonnet, under the guise of a conventional love lament, reflects upon the hardship of this separation. Cf. poems 21 and 23, and notes.

10

This epigram, with its trenchant final couplet giving an unexpected turn to the thought, is quite in the spirit of the best Renaissance tradition.

11

1-6. Cf. *Troil. and Cris.* 5. 8-14:

The golden-tressed Phebus helghe on-lofte
Thryes hadde alle with his bemes shene
The snowes molte, and Zephirus as ofte
Y-brought ayein the tendre leves grene,
Sin that the sone of Ecuba the quene
Bigan to love hir first, for whom his sorwe
Was al, that she departe sholde a-morwe.

10. Cf. *Pet., Son. in Vita* 150.1-2:

D'un bel, chiaro, polito e vivo ghiaccio
Move la fiamma che m' incende e strugge.

18. *K.* suggests the reading *at hand to freeze*, to furnish the proper antithesis, and quotes *Pet. Son. in Vita* 169. 12:

S' arder da lunge ed agghiacciar da presso,
and vs. 41-42 of the poem "Suche waywarde wais hath love":

In standing nere my fyre, I know how that I frese;
Ffar of, to burn

Similar antitheses found in *Son. in Vita* 142. 13-14:

Ma perir mi dà 'l Ciel per questa luce;
Che da lunge mi struggo, e da press' ardo;

and *Tr. Amore* 3.168:

Arder da lunge ed agghiacciar de presso.

However, the reading of the text is supported by all of the extant versions.

30. Cf. *Pet. Sest.* 1. 2:

Se non se alquanti c' hanno in odio il sole.

32. A conventional idea that is often met in amatory verse; it is the theme of Petrarca's *Son. in Vita* 22.

34-38. Cf. *Son. in Vita* 123. 1-4:

Quando mi vene innanzi il tempo e 'l loco
Ov' io perdel me stesso, e 'l caro nodo
Ond' Amor di sua man m' avvinse in modo
Che l' amar mi fe dolce e 'l pianger gloco.

40-44. These lines are reminiscent of *Son. in Vita* 137. 7-14:

La vela rompe un vento umido eterno
Di sospir, di speranze e di desio.
Pioggia di lagrimar, nebbia di sdegni
Bagna e rallenta le già stanche sarte,
Che son d'error con ignoranza attorto.
Celansi i duo miei dolci usati segni;
Morta fra l' onde è la ragion e l' arte:
Tal ch' incomincio a disperar del porto.

This sonnet of Petrarca's was translated entire by Wyatt; see *Early Sixteenth Century Lyrics*, 1.

44. Nott accepts the reading *sucke*, found in A. and H., in preference to *sinke*, and cites in defence thereof *Son. in Vita* 198. 5-6:

Far potess' io vendetta di colei
Che guardando e parlando mi distrugge,
E per più doglia poi s'asconde e fugge,
Celando gli occhi a me sì dolci e rei
Così gli afflitti e stanchi spiriti miei
A poco a poco consumando sugge.

This citation is very far-fetched: in this instance it is the mistress who "sucks" the spirits of the lover; in Surrey's poem it would be the lover who would "suck in" his deadly harm. It is poetically more effective and more in keeping with the sonnet which suggested the figure to Surrey, to picture the lover's spirits as a ship which is sinking, *Tal ch' incomincio a disperar del porto*. This is the "deadly harm" which the hard-hearted mistress takes in sport.

The suggestion that the lover, like the sailor, lifts his eyes to the stars, is taken from *Canz. in Vita* 8. 4. 1-6:

Come a forza di venti
Stanco nocchier di notte alza la testa
A' duo lumi c' ha sempre il nostro polo;
Così nella tempesta
Ch' i sostengo d' amor, gli occhi lucenti
Sono il mio segno e 'l mio conforto solo.

12

The temper of this piece is not unlike that of No. 34, in which Surrey indignantly resents an insult paid him by some lady high in the court, presumably Lady Hertford. Is it too fanciful to associate this poem with the experience there reflected? Note that in v. 7 Surrey alludes to himself as a "man of war", and that it was immediately after the conjectured rebuff of Lady Hertford in refusing to dance with him at a ball given by him that he accompanied his father, in August, 1542, on his expedition against Scotland. The poem has something of the swagger of a young man undertaking his first real military enterprise.

For the conceit upon which the whole poem turns, compare Chaucer, *The Book of the Duchesse*, vs. 617-686, in which there is an elaborate adaptation of the language of chess. This usage obtained much vogue among the lyric poets and dramatists.

13

3-5 Cf. *Pet.Son. in Vita* 13. 1-2:

Piovonmi amare lagrime dal viso,
Con un vento angoscioso di sospiri.

In *Ms. Harl 78*, f. 27b. is a poem of which certain stanzas are practically identical with this. It is there attributed to Wyatt, and Nott conjectures that the two poems were translated from a common original in friendly competition. However, no Italian model is known to exist, and the poem is apparently a mosaic of Petrarchian lines. Moreover, the language of certain stanzas is so nearly identical as to preclude the possibility of independent workmanship. The Harleian version is probably a clumsy reworking of Surrey's poem, or an attempt to reconstruct it from memory: it lacks the introductory stanzas, it misses the irony of the second stanza, and throughout it is faulty in metre. The text is as follows:

Lyke as the wynde with rasinge blaste
Doth cawse eche tree to bowe and bende,
Even so do I spende my tyme in wast,
My lyff consumynge vnto an ende.

Ffor as the flame by force dothe quenche the fier,
And runnyng streames consume the rayne,
Even so do I my self desyer
To augment my greff and deadly payne.

Whear as I fynd yat whot is whott,
And colde is colde by course of kynde,
So shall I knet an endeles knott;
Such fructe in love, alas! I fynde.

When I forsaw those christall streames
Whose bewtie doth cawse my mortall wounde,
I lyttyl thought within those beames
So swete a venim for to have founde.

I fele and se my owne decay;
As on that beareth the flame in his brest,
Forgetfull thought to put away
The thyng yat breadethe my vnrest.

Lyke as the flye dothe seke the flame,
And after warde playethe in the fyer,
Who fyndethe her woe, and sekethe her game,
Whose greffe dothe growe of her owne desyr.

Lyke as the spider dothe drawe her lyne,
As labor lost so is my sute.
The gayne is hers, the lose is myne;
Of euell sowne seade suche is the frute.

5. Cf. *Pet.Son. in Vita*, 33. 1-4:

Se mai foco per foco non si spense,
Nè fiume fu giammai secco per pioggia;
Ma sempre l' un per l' altro simil pioggia,
E spesso l' un contrario l' altro accense.

"As fire increases flame and rain swells the streams, so does her presence heighten my distress."

9. Cf. *Ibid.* 15. 5-7:

Ed altri, col desio folle, che spera
Gioir forse nel foco perchè splende,
Provan l' altra virtù, quella che 'ncende.

Wyatt translated this passage as follows (*Foxwell. The Poems of Sir Thomas Wyatt*, p. 11):

Other reloyse that se the fyer bright,
And wene to play in it as they do pretend,
And fynde the contrary of it that they intend.

14. Cf. *Son. in Vita* 89.5: Dagli occhi vostri uscio 'l colpo mortale.

15. Cf. *Ibid.* 101. 8, *Canz.* 16. 7: Dolce veneno.

17. Cf. *Ibid.* 97. 1-4:

Quando 'l voler che con duo sproni ardenti
E con un duro fren mi mena e regge,
Trapassa ad or ad or l'usata legge
Per far in parte i miei spirti contenti.

id. 121. 8: Ch' ha sì caldi gli spron, sì duro il freno.

21. *Ibid.* 157. 1-4:

Voglia mi sprona, Amor mi guida e scorge,
Placer mi tira, usanza mi trasporta,
Speranza mi lusinga e riconforta,
E la man destra al cor già stanco porge.

29. *Ibid.* 180. 1-4:

Amor, io fallo, e veggio il mio fallire;
Ma fo sì com'uom ch'arde e 'l foco ha'n seno,
Che 'l duol pur cresce, e la ragion vien meno
Ed è già quasi vinta dal martire.

33. *Ibid.* 121. 6-7: Quanto al mondo si tesse, opra d'aragna Vede.

Wyatt translated this sonnet; cf. *The Poems of Sir Thomas Wyatt*, p. 14.

35. *Ibid.* 169. 14: Vostro, Donna, il peccato, e mio fia 'l danno.

36. *Ibid.* 121. 14: Tal frutto nasce di cotal radice.

15

10. Cf. *Pet. Son. in Vita* 62.13-14:

Forse non avrai sempre il viso asciutto:
Ch' i' mi pasco di lagrime; e tu 'l sai.

24. Cf. *Son. in Morte* 70. 1-2:

Del cibo, onde 'l Signor mio sempre abbonda,
Lagrime e doglia, il cor lasso nudrisco.

16

3-4. "Her thoughts, reflected in her eyes, are communicated to my heart through my eyes."

17-21. "Happy is the man who, not having tasted of love, has escaped that torment of an unrelieved passion, which love teaches so insistently."

29-32. "The truest thing that may be said about love, and its greatest injustice, is that its poor victim cannot long endure life."

17

30. "Ganders fo," i. e. the fox.

34-40. "Do not think that one who was so anxious to win your love and so loth to forego it, would willingly fall from his felicity or would desire a change."

45-48. Cf. *Pet. Sest. in Vita* 2. 9-10:

Quand' avrò queto il cor, asciutti gli occhi,
Vedrem ghiacciar il foco, arder la neve.

18

13. Cf. A very common conceit among the polite poets, from the time of the Troubadours.

19

4. Cf. *Pet. Son. in Vita* 153.6: E temprà il dolce amaro, che n' ha offeso.

7. This probably alludes to the military expedition to Scotland on which Surrey accompanied his father in the early autumn of 1542, shortly after his imprisonment in the Fleet for quarreling with John a Leigh, and after the humiliating incident described in poem 34. It may have seemed best to the King, after these stormy episodes, to send this hot-blooded youth North to cool down.

7-18. Compare the antithetical ideas here expressed with the following passages from Petrarca:

Son. in Vita 88.14: E tremo a mezza state, ardendo il verno.

99.6: Di state un ghiaccio, un fuoco quando verna.

130.5: Trem' al più caldo, ard' al più freddo cielo.

- 15-16. Cf.
- Pet. Son. in Morte*
87. 1-2:

Spirito felice, che sì dolcemente
Volgei quegli occhi più chiari che 'l sole.

16. Cf.
- Son. in Vita*
- 103.9: L' aere percosso da lor dolci rai.

22. Cf.
- Ibid.*
- 180.5: Solea frenare il mio caldo desire.

20

It is very doubtful if this poem is to be assigned to Surrey, despite the fact that it is so assigned in *Ms. Harl.* 78. Tottel places it among the poems of "Uncertain Authors." The rhyme scheme, abacbc, is nowhere else used by Surrey, the comparisons are awkwardly handled, and the diction has little to commend it.

1-6. "I had thought that I was like Ulysses, seeking the faithful Penelope, but I find that I am like Troilus, deceived by Cressida."

18. The "repentance" is not that of the lover, but the pity which the lady finally takes upon him.

21

This poem may have been written, as no. 33 clearly was, for the Countess of Surrey, to voice her impatience at the separation from her husband, during his absence on military duty in France. Cf. notes to nos. 9 and 33. It is the one poem of Surrey's in the Duke of Devonshire Ms. and is in the hand-writing of Mary Shelton, the sweetheart of Sir Thomas Clere, Surrey's companion, who accompanied him to France. (Cf. notes to No. 47.) Perhaps the poem was written for Mary Shelton herself, in recognition of her love for Clere, and was inserted in the Ms. after being sent her from France. It is adapted from Serafino del Aquilo *Epist.* 5:

Quella ingannata, afflitta et miseranda
Donna, non donna piu, ma horrendo mostrio.

The epistle, in turn, is adapted from Phyllis' complaint of Demophoon in Ovid's *Heroides* 2.

- 12-13. These verses are suggested by
- Pet. Son. in Vita*
137. 7-8:

La vela rompe un vento umido eterno
Di sospir, di speranze e di desio.

- 24-28. Cf.
- Epist.*
- 37-41:

Ah quante uolte quando il ciel s' imbruna
A mezza notte uscì del freddo letto
A sentir l' hore, a remirar la luna,
Fatta son marinar per questo effetto.

33. Cf.
- Ibid.*
- 79-80:

E s' afondato è alcun dal tempo rio
Che 'l sappia dico: ahime: questo è sommerso

Cf. also *Troil. and Cris.* 5.228: O herte mine! Criseyde, my swete foe!

22

This poem is largely indebted to *Pet. Trionfo D' Amore* 3. 151-190, and 4. 139-153. The first of these passages reads as follows:

Or so come da se il cor si disgiunge,	
E come sa far pace, guerra e tregua,	
E coprir suo dolor quand' altri 'l punge.	
E so come in un punto si dilegua	
E poi si sparge per le guance il sangue,	155
Se paura o vergogna avvien che 'l segua.	
So come sta tra' fiori ascoso l' angue;	
Come sempre fra due si veggchia e dorme;	
Come senza languir si more e langue.	
So della mia nemica cercar l' orme,	160
E temer di trovarla; e so in qual guisa	
L' amante nell' amato si trasforme.	
So fra lunghi sospiri e brevi risa	
Stato, voglia, color cangiare spesso;	
Viver, stando dal cor l' alma divisa.	165

- So mille volte il di ingannar me stesso;
 So, seguendo 'l mio foco ovunqu' e' fugge,
 Arder da lunge ed agghiacciar da presso.
 So com' Amor sopra la mente rugge,
 E com' ogni ragione indi discaccia;
 E so in quante maniere il cor si strugge. 170
- So di che poco canape s' allaccia
 Un' anima gentil, quand' ella è sola,
 E non è chi per lei difesa faccia.
 So com' Amor saetta e come vola;
 E so com' or minaccia ed or percote;
 Come ruba per forza e come invola;
 E come sono instabili sue rote;
 Le speranze dubbiose e 'l dolor certo;
 Sue promesse di fe' come son vote; 175
- Come nell' ossa il suo foco coperto
 E nelle vene vive occulta piaga,
 Onde morte è palese e 'ncendio aperto.
 In somma so com' è incostante e vaga,
 Timida, ardita vita degli amanti;
 Ch' un poco dolce molto amaro appaga;
 E so i costumi e i lor sospiri e canti
 E 'l parlar rotto e 'l subito silenzio
 E 'l brevissimo riso e i lunghi pianti,
 E qual è 'l mel temprato con l' assenzio. 180
- 185
- 190

The other passage reads:

- Errori, sogni ed immagini smorte
 Erra d' intorno al carro trionfale;
 E false opinioni in su le porte;
 E lubrico sperar su per la scale;
 E dannoso guadagno, ed util danno;
 E gradi ove più scende chi più sale;
 Stanco ripose e riposato affanno; 145
- Chiaro disnor, e gloria oscura e nigra;
 Perfida lealtate, e fido inganno;
 Sollicito furor, e ragion pigra;
 Carcer ove si vien per strade aperte,
 Onde per strette a gran pena si migra;
 Ratte scese all' intrar, all' uscir erte. 150
- Dentro, confusion turbida, e mischia
 Di doglie certe e d' allegrezze incerte.

3. Cf. *Tr. Am.* 3. 176, 180; 4. 147.

5. Cf. *Pet. Canz.* 15. 2. 1-2:

S' i' 'l dissi, Amor l' aurate sue quadrella
 Spenda in me tutte, e l' implombate in lei.

9. Cf. *Pet. Son. in Vita* 175. 7-8:

Che non pur ponte o guado o remi o vela,
 Ma scampar non pottemmi ale nè plume.

16. Cf. *Tr. Am.* 3. 152.

18. Cf. *Pet. Son. sopra vari Arg.* 7. 1-2:

S' Amore o Morte non dà qualche stroppio
 Alla tela novella ch' ora ordisco.

19-22. Cf. *Tr. Am.* 3. 153-155, and 164.

25-26. Cf. *Ibid.* 187-188.

28-29. Cf. *Ibid.* 158-159, and 4. 145.

33-35. Cf. *Tr. Am.* 3. 160-162.

36. Cf. *Son. in Vita* 11. 9-14:

39. Cf. *Tr. Am.* 3. 166.

40. Cf. Chaucer, *Squire's Tale* 491-492:

And for to maken other be war by me,
 As by the whelp chasted is the leoun.

41. Cf. *Tr. Am.* 3. 168.

43-44. Cf. *Ibid.* 169-171.

45. Cf. *Ibid.* 186.

47. Cf. *Ibid.* 177.

49. Cf. *Ibid.* 178.

50. Cf. *Ibid.* 179, 182-183; 4. 153.

23

The influence of Chaucer is of course apparent throughout this fresh and spirited little poem.

21-23. "In their songs methought the birdes thanked nature much that she had permitted them—such was their good fortune—to love all that year, to choose them mates just as their fancy dictated."

41-42. "All that was but the mental impression of one who would be well quit of Cupid."

24

This poem is a fusion of one type of the early French *pastourelle*, in which a shepherd complains to another of his hard-hearted mistress, and of one type of the early French *chanson à personnages*, in which the poet chances upon a man who is lamenting an unrequited love. The opening verses, which give the setting, are reminiscent of the *chanson*, although winter has been substituted for the conventional May morning. The sophisticated references to classical myths appear odd enough in this setting of folk poetry. (Cf. *Early Sixteenth Century Lyrics* xxxvi ff., and *Transition English Song Collections*, *Cambridge History of Eng. Lit.* 2. 389, 392-3.)

44. A very common conceit with the sonneteers. Cf. Chaucer, *The Book of the Duchesse*, 908-911:

For certes, Nature has swich lest
To make that fair, that treyly she
Was hir cheef patron of beautee,
And cheef ensample of al hir werke.

77-80. Such references show the very great vogue that *Troilus and Criseyde* enjoyed.

48. Cf. Pet. *Son. in Vita* 37. 6:

E corcherassi 'l Sol là obtre, ond' esce
D' un medesimo fonte Eufrate e Tigre;
Prima ch' i' trovi in cià pace, nè tregua.

25

9-10. "I am suffering so much distress on your account that I cannot rest until you know the disconcerting truth."

11-12. "This love of yours, which abuses you by deceiving you, has so completely mastered you that it sacrifices everything to your passion, and fitfully seizes you." The construction is rather loose.

26

27. "The row" means the whole company of lovers.

27

This poem is a playful rejoinder to the one which precedes it. There is a good deal of question as to whether the poem should be assigned to Surrey. In the ms. from which it is taken, *A.*, it is given as the first of a group of Surrey's poems, but by Tottel it is assigned to "an vncertain auctor". However, in the second edition it is transposed from its original position at page 198, and is placed immediately after the poem, "Wrapt in my carelesse cloke", with the title, "An answer in the behalfe of a woman". It is to be noted that only the first twenty verses are given in Tottel. Surrey may have written the poem as a mere literary pleasantry, or it may have been written by another in good-natured rivalry. If written by another, he has succeeded in hitting off the style of Surrey to a nicety.

The theme of Susanna and the Elders was a favorite one with the Renaissance artists, and was treated *ad nauseam*.

28

5-8. Petrarca has given beautiful expression to this thought in two of his lyrics. Cf. *Sest. in Vita* 1. 1-6:

A qualunque animale alberga in terra,
Se non se alquanti c' hanno in odio il sole,
Tempo da travagliare è quanto è 'l giorno;
Ma poi ch' il ciel accende le sue stelle,
Qual torna a casa, e qual s' annida in selva
Per aver posa almeno infin all' alba.

See also the fourth *Canzone* in which Petrarch contrasts, in pictures of charming color, the rest which awaits the pilgrim, the laborer, the shepherd and the shipman, with his own feverish unrest.

60. A very common conceit. Thus Troilus (*Troilus and Criseyde* 4. 318-322.) and Arcite (*The Knights Tale* 2765-2770).

29

The subject of this sonnet is Elizabeth Fitzgerald, the little daughter of Gerald Fitzgerald, ninth Earl of Kildare. Born in Ireland in about 1528, she was brought to England in 1533 when her father was involved in charges of rebellion. In 1537 she entered the household of the Princess Mary (*Ms. Vesp. C. xiv.*, 1. 274.) and in 1540 was transferred to the service of Queen Catherine Howard. In 1543 she married Sir Anthony Browne, a widower of sixty. I take it that Surrey first met her at Hunsdon in March 1537, and met her again at Hampton in July, prior to the ninth (*Madden, Privy Purse Expenses of the Princess Mary* [London, 1831] 21, 23 and 33 show that Mary was at Hunsdon and at Hampton on these dates.) The poem was probably written in July, 1537, while Surrey was confined at Windsor for having struck a courtier. Though the offense was committed in June, Surrey was probably not confined before July 12, as on that date he was at Kennington, his father's home, suffering from some illness (*Let. and Pap.* 12. 2. 248).

A stubborn literary tradition has it that this maiden was the object of Surrey's verse. Nash seems to be responsible for this tradition, for in his romance entitled *The Unfortunate Traveller, or the Life of Jack Wilton* (1594), Surrey is reputed to have consulted Cornelius Agrippa in Venice as to the welfare of Elizabeth and to have seen her image in a magic mirror, and later, while in Florence, to have offered to defend his lady's beauty against all comers. Drayton perpetuated the fiction in his *England's Heroical Epistles, Henry Howard Earle of Surrey to Geraldine*, 1598, of which the *Argument* is as follows: "Henry Howard, that true noble Earle of Surrey, and excellent poet, falling in love with Geraldine; descended of the noble family of the Fitzgeralds of Ireland, a faire and modest Lady; & one of the honorable maydes to Queen Katherine Dowager; eternizeth her prayses in many excellent Poems, of rare and sundry inuentions: and after some fewe yeares, being determind to see that famous Italy, the source and Hicon of al excellent Arts; first visiteth that renowned Florence, from whence the Geraldts challeng their descent, from the ancient family of the Geraldi: there in honor of his mistress he aduanceth her picture: and challengeth to maintaine her beauty by deeds of Armes against all that durst appeare in the lists, where after the prooffe of his braue and incomparable valour, whoe arme crowned her beauty with eternall memory, he writeth this epistle to his dearest Mistres."

This tradition gained wide vogue in the seventeenth century and Warton gave it full credence in his *History of English Poetry* (4.23). Nott accepted it as its face value and indeed became so obsessed with the idea that he construed all of the amatory poems in the light of it, introducing the name Geraldine into manufactured titles for the poems, and filling his notes, in other respects often so admirable, with sentimental trash.

The truth probably is that Surrey whiled away an idle hour of confinement by composing a sonnet in compliment to a little girl of nine whose pretty face chanced to have

caught his fancy. If he did for the time being accept her as the "Laura" of his verse, it must have been in a spirit of playfulness. Most of his amatory verse is undertaken largely as a literary exercise, as any student of Renaissance polite verse must appreciate.

1. The Fitzgeralds were supposed to be descended from a Florentine family, the Geraldini.

6. The mother of Elizabeth was Lady Elizabeth Grey, fourth daughter of Thomas, Marquis of Dorset, granddaughter of Elizabeth Woodville, queen of Edward IV, and first cousin of Henry VIII (D. N. B.).

30

This and the following poem were written in the summer of 1537, while Surrey was confined at Windsor for having struck a courtier.

7. *Ioly woes*; cf. the Italian *dolci quai*. *The hateless shorte debate*: the sweet quarrels of lovers. So Troilus (*Troil. and Cris.* 2.1099): I have a Ioly wo, a lusty sorwe.

11. Cf. Pet. *Son. in Morte* 20. 1-2: I'ho pien di sospir quest' aer tutto.

31

This poem, like the preceding, was written at Windsor in the summer of 1537, during Surrey's confinement. In surroundings that were all eloquent with the memory of the happy boyhood years spent at Windsor with Richmond, the King's son, and that contrasted the past and the present so sharply, the poet fondly recalls the affectionate comradeship and the enthusiasms of the former days. It must be allowed, to be sure, that the narrative is somewhat idealized, for some of the activities described are those of young men rather than of lads in their earliest teens.

Cf. *Troil and Cris.* 3. 1366:

Or elles when that folk be sike
Easy sighes such as ben to like.

53-54. Koeppel notes the similarity of this sentiment to the pathetic words of Francesca (*Inferno* 5. 121-123):

Nessun maggior dolore,
Che ricordarsi del tempo felice
Nella miseria.

32

In April, 1543, Surrey, in company with certain boon companions, one of whom was Thomas Wyatt, the son of the poet (*Acts of the Privy Council* 1. 104), was committed to the Fleet on the twofold charge of eating meat in Lent, and of going about the streets at night breaking windows with a stone-bow. In the *Acts of the Privy Council* the offence is entered as follows: "Att Saint-James the first day off aprill... Th'erle of Surrey being sent for t'appere before the Cownsell was charged as well off eating off flesshe, as off a lewde and unsemely manner of walking in the night abowght the stretes and breaking with stonebowes off certeyne wyndowes. And towching the eating off flesshe. he alleged a licence, albeitt he hadde nott secretly used the same as apparteyned. And towching the stonebowes, he cowlde nott denye butt he hadde verye evyll done therein, submitting himselff therefore to such ponissemment as sholde to them be thought good. Whereapon he was committed to the Fleet."

It may have been during his confinement that this irrepressible young nobleman composed this waggish satire, in which he pretends that the city had become so lost in trespasses and sin that nothing short of such drastic means could arouse it to a sense of its spiritual condition.

The metre is the *terza rima*, save for vs. 29-40, which rhyme a b a b a b c d c d c d. As in these lines the poet is inveighing against the seven deadly sins, he may intend a playful intimation that the *terza rima* should not be polluted with anything so evil. It may be, of course, that the change of metre is merely to secure rapidity.

2. "Such was my indignation at the dissolute life within the city walls that fear of retribution could not keep me from forcibly rebuking it. Mere words, as the preachers well know, are of small avail, and so I resorted to this novel method of voicing my protest. My punishment of the city, under cover of the night, accords with your secret sins, and should teach you that justice seeks out every fault, and that no one is secure from it."

21. Cf. Isaiah 47. 11.

45-55. Cf. Revelation 18 and Jeremiah 51, for general similarities.

56-58. Cf. Jeremiah 51. 49.

59. Nott calls attention to Petrarca's invective against the vices of the Papal Court at Avignon, *Son. sopra Varj. Arg.* 14:

Fiamma dal ciel su le tue trecce piova.

60-64. Adapted from Ezekiel 5. 12-17, 6. 11-14, and Jeremiah 50.15. Nott thinks that Surrey may have in mind a second sonnet of Petrarca's in which he condemns Avignon as the modern Babylon, *Son. sopra Varj. Agr.* 15. 9-10:

Gl' idoli suoi saranno in terra sparsi,
E le torri superbe, al Ciel nemiche.

65-68. Cf. Jeremiah 51-48.

33

This poem was clearly written for the Countess of Surrey while Surrey was separated from her during his winter of military service in France. Evidently Surrey and his wife found this separation very trying; cf. notes to poems 9 and 21. The poem leaves no doubt of the affection which was mutually felt. Note the felicitous domestic picture in vs. 21-28.

22. Thomas Howard, the eldest son of the poet, then aged nine.

29. Cf. *Troil and Cris.* 4. 234-237:

Up-on his beddes syde a-down him sette,
Ful lyk a deep image pale and wan;
And in his brest the heped wo bigan
Out-breste.

34

In *Tottel* this piece bears the title, "A song written by the earle of Surrey to a ladie that refused to daunce with him." Bapst conjectures that this lady was Lady Hertford, the wife of Edward Seymour. He finds support for this theory in the deep-seated enmity of the two houses, in the fact that the escutcheon of the Stanhopes—Lady Hertford's family—was supported by two wolves, and in Drayton's association of the names of Surrey and Lady Hertford in his epistle, *Surrey to Geraldine*, 145-148:

Nor beauteous Stanhope, whom all tongues report
To be the glory of the English Court,
Shall by our nation be so much admir'd,
If euer Surrey truly were inspir'd.

The closing lines suggest to Bapst that Surrey gave the function at which the insult was received, and he fixes the date as August, 1542, by interpreting verse 41 as a reference to those members of Surrey's family who were in confinement during the proceedings against Catherine Howard.

3. The lion was an heraldic emblem of the Howards.

11. The pride and spirit of Lady Hertford were exemplified by her quarrels with Catherine Parr over the question of precedence.

30. Thomas Howard, grandfather of the poet, overthrew James IV of Scotland in the famous battle of Flodden Field.

35-40. This reference is to Surrey's uncle, Thomas Howard, the second son of Thomas, second Duke of Norfolk. In June, 1536, he was committed to the Tower because he had affianced himself to Lady Margaret Douglas, the King's niece, without the royal knowledge or assent. Inquiry showed that Surrey's sister, the Duchess of Richmond, had encouraged this secret alliance and that the lovers had frequently met in her presence

to avoid suspicion (*Let and Pap.* 11. no. 48 [July 8, 1536]). Lord Thomas remained in the Tower until his death two years later. That he and Lady Margaret were ardently attached to one another and continued so even after their confinement, despite the diplomatic protestation of Lady Margaret to Cromwell "Not to thynk that eny fancy doth remayn in me towching hym (*Let. and Pap.* 11. no. 294)", finds confirmation in the poems written by their own hands in the *Duke of Devonshire MS.* (See *Bibliography*), which Lady Margaret had evidently borrowed from the Duchess of Richmond and then conveyed surreptitiously to Sir Thomas in the Tower. Miss Ida K. Foxwell (*A Study of Sir Thomas Wyatt's Poems*, London, 1911, p. 132) in her keen history of the vicissitudes of this manuscript, speaks of these poems as follows: "A series of poems by Sir Thomas Howard occurs in another part of the book. Stanzas of intense hopefulness and assurance that all will be well are followed by verses expressing firmness and unaltered resolve to remain true to Margaret. He speaks of means taken to undermine his resolution by cajolery or cruelty, but the poems always end with loving words to 'my none swete wyf'. At length privation told upon a frame that was never robust, and his last verses are a cry for death that 'his soul may go forth to his ladye'..... Broken-hearted and desperate verses in the Devonshire Manuscript bear witness to Margaret's grief."

35

This poem serves as a prologue to the translation of Psalm 88, and number 36, in turn, as a prologue to Psalm 73, psalms which presumably Surrey translated while awaiting execution. Bapst makes the following observation upon these poems: "Especially worthy of remark among the poems written at this supreme hour are the two prologues. That of Psalm 73 is addressed to George Blage, with whom, one must remember, the Count had had the altercation which led to his downfall; that of Psalm 88, to Sir Anthony Denny, an intimate of Henry VIII, who must have had a share in Surrey's arrest. But, at the point of death, the poet wished to show his enemies that he had forgotten all the quarrels of this naughty world, and was concerned only with his passage to another life." (page 361.) Sir Anthony Denny was one of the secretaries of Henry VIII, a man who, according to Ascham, was wholly occupied with religion, learning, and affairs of state. When Henry VIII was on his deathbed, so shortly after the execution of Surrey, Denny bravely besought him to repent of his sins and to ask God's mercy. Denny was a zealous promoter of the Reformation, and this was doubtless one ground of dislike between him and Surrey.

8. This does not mean the pardon of the King, as Nott supposed, but God's pardon. The accompanying psalm plainly shows that Surrey was awaiting death at the time of writing.

36

George Blage, an old companion in arms of Surrey's, was, like Denny, an enthusiastic Reformer. At the trial, Edward Rogers recalled a heated dispute between Surrey and Blage over the question of the anticipated regency during the minority of Edward VI. Surrey haughtily contended that his father, as the first duke of England, should hold this office. Blage, in turn, warmly retorted that he hoped such a calamity would never occur. The dispute ended in invectives and threats. *Let. and Pap.* 21.2 no. 555.4.

37

Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton, the second son of the poet, states in the Dedicatory Epistle to his *Dutiful Defence of the Royal Regimen of Women* that this poem was the last which his father wrote. Nott is inclined to refer the poem to an earlier confinement, because "Surrey plainly intimates that he either had obtained, or was on the point of obtaining, the King's pardon." However, though only seven at the time of his father's execution, Northampton ought to have known the history of the poem. Moreover, the similarity of the opening verse to that of the preceding poem is

strong presumptive evidence of the date. If this is, indeed, the last poem, the storms and clouds refer to the poet's spiritual struggles; the "paine foreknowne", to the anticipated death for which he is now fortified by patience; the "swete reuenge," to his spiritual triumph over his enemies; and the "wretch", to Southwell, whom Surrey had offered to fight when accused by him of treason. Yet one is hard put to it to construe verses 9-11 to this interpretation. May not the poem have been written in the early days of December, before the trial, when Surrey may have had some occasion for thinking that his skies were clearing? The harsh spirit of the closing lines is certainly incompatible with the resignation of one who has forgiven his enemies and is about to die. It does not comport with the two Prologues and Psalms 88 and 73.

12. The "glass" is the mental reflection; cf. *Troil and Cris.* 1. 365-366:

Thus **gan** he make a mirour of his minde,
In which he saugh al hoolly hir figure.

38

1. Alexander the Great. Plutarch twice relates the incident: *Lives*, p. 467 (ed. 1831), and *Morals, The Fortune or Virtue of Alexander*, 4. Flügel (*Neuenglische Lesebuch* 302) cites the opening lines of the Dedication to Henry VIII of Berthelette's edition of Gower's *Confessio Amantis* (1532): "Plutarcke wryteth whan Alexander had discomfyte Darius, the Kyng of Perse, among other iewels of the sayde Kynges there was founde a curyous lyttell cheste of great value, which the noble Kyng Alexander beholdynge, sayde: 'This same shall serue for Homere.' Which is noted for the great loue and fauour that Alexander had vnto lernynge."

6. Wyatt paraphrased Psalm 37 and the seven Penitential Psalms. See *The Poems of Sir Thomas Wiat* 125-163.

11-12. Cf. 2 Samuel 11-12.

13-14. These verses are probably directed against Henry VIII. See *Introduction*, p. 16.

39

This poem is addressed presumably to Thomas Radcliffe, third Earl of Sussex (b. 1526 [?]), who took part with Surrey in the military operations against France in 1544. Radcliffe was related to Surrey as his father, Henry Radcliffe, second Earl of Sussex (b. 1506 [?]), married Lady Elizabeth Howard, a daughter of Thomas, second Duke of Norfolk—the poet's grandfather—, by his second wife. The poem may possibly be addressed to Henry Radcliffe, but Surrey would hardly use this paternal tone to a man eleven years his senior, or reflect upon the "rechlesse youth" of a man of thirty-eight.

2. Nott quotes Tibullus (37):

Vos ego nunc moneo. Felix, quicumque dolore
Alterius discas posse carere tuo.

6. Cf. Foxwell, *The Poems of Sir Thomas Wiat, Epigram 31*, p. 33:

Sighes ar my foode: drynke are my teares:
Clynkinge of fetters suche musycke wolde craue:
Stynke and close aye away my lyf wears:
Innocence is all the hope I have.
Rayne, wynde or wether I iudge by myne eares.
Mallice assaulted that rightiousnes should have,
Sure I am, Brian, this wounde shall heale agayne,
But yet, alas, the scarre shall styll remayne.

Wyatt was twice committed to the Tower: once in 1536, in conjunction with the imprisonment of Anne Boleyn, and again in 1538, when accused by Edmund Bonner of treasonable correspondence with Cardinal Pole.

40

7. The King referred to is Sardanapalus. See *Introduction*, p. 16.

41

This poem is a translation of Martial's famous epigram on the golden mean, *Ad Seipsum*:

Vitam quae faciant beatiorē,
Iucundissime Martialis, haec sunt;
Res non parta labore, sed relicta;
Non ingratus ager, focus perennis;
Lis nunquam, toga rara, mens quieta;
Vires ingenuae, salubre corpus;
Prudens simplicitas, pares amici;
Convictus facilis, sine arte mensa;
Nox non ebria, sed soluta curis;
Non tristis torus, et tamen pudicus;
Somnus, qui faciat breves tenebras;
Quod sis, esse velis nihilque malis;
Summum nec metuas diem nec optes.

Cf. the following sonnet by Plantin, the proprietor of the famous press, and now reprinted from the old press as a souvenir:

Avoir une maison commode, propre & belle,
Un jardin tapissé d'espalliers odorans,
Des fruits, d'excellent vin, peu de train, peu d'enfans,
Posseder seul sans bruit une femme fidèle.

N'avoir dettes, amour, ni procès, ni querelle,
Ni de partage à faire avecque ses parens,
Se contenter de peu, n'espérer rien des Grands,
Régler tous ses desseins sur un juste modèle.

Vivre avecque franchise et sans ambition,
S'adonner sans scrupule à la dévotion,
Domter ses passions, les rendre obéissantes.

Conserver l'esprit libre, & le jugement fort,
Dire son Chapelet en cultivant ses entes,
C'est attendre chez soi bien doucement la mort.

The doctrine of the golden mean evidently made a strong appeal to a generation that was so subject to the uncertainties of fortune. See poem 42, and poem 52, vs. 29-30, where Surrey voices the doctrine again, and *Tottel*, p. 255.

42

Is this poem addressed to the poet's brother or son, or is it addressed to Thomas Wyatt the younger, Surrey's comrade in many a mad frolic? If to the latter, there may be an element of pleasantry in the offering of this sage advice.

The poem is adapted from *Horace, Book 2, Ode 10*:

Rectius vives, Licini, neque altum
Semper urgendo neque, dum procellas
Cautus horrescis, nimium premendo
Litus iniquum.
Auream quisquis mediocritatem
Diligit tutus caret obsoleti
Sordibus tecti, caret invidenda
Sobrius aula.
Saepius ventis agitur ingens
Pinus et celsae graviore casu
Decidunt turres feriuntque summos
Fulgura montes.
Sperat infestes, metuit secundis
Alteram sortem bene praeparatum
Pectus. Informes hiemes reducit
Jupiter, idem
Summovet. Non si male nunc et olim
Sic erit: quondam cithara tacentem
Suscitat musam, neque semper arcum
Tendit Apollo.
Rebus angustis animosus atque
Fortis appare; sapienter idem
Contraheis vento nilum secundo
Turgida vela.

43

Surrey was of course familiar with the description of the successive ages in Horace, *Ars Poetica*, 156ff. Cf. also the beautiful poem by Sir Thomas More (Padelford, *Early Sixteenth Century Lyrics*, p. 100).

19-22. Cf. *Cant. Tales, The Reeve's Prologue* 13-17:

But ik am old, me list not pley for age;
Gras-tyme is doon, my fodder is now forage,
This whyte top wryteth myne olde yeres,
Myn herte is al-so mowled as myne heres.

44

This and the two following elegiac poems are in memory of Sir Thomas Wyatt. Miss Foxwell, in her admirable monograph (*A Study of Sir Thomas Wyatt's Poems*, p. 125ff.), presents strong evidence that in 1526, when a lad of nine, Surrey came into possession of the manuscript in which Wyatt wrote the first version of his poems, and that later he presented the volume to his sister, the Duchess of Richmond, presumably on the occasion of her marriage to Henry Richmond, the king's son. Surrey probably conceived thus early an admiration for the literary work of the senior poet. Yet it is not likely that a friendship existed between the two poets prior to 1541. Wyatt was fourteen years older than Surrey; he was a protegee of Cromwell, towards whom Surrey shared his father's enmity; and he favored the protestant movement in the Church. Moreover, with the exception of a few months in 1539, Wyatt was engaged in diplomatic service abroad from June 1537 to May 1540. But the malicious attack of Bonner upon Wyatt after the fall of Cromwell evidently aroused the ire of Surrey, for he and his sister induced the new queen, Catherine Howard, to use her influence with the king in securing the release of the poet from the Tower. For the remaining two years of Wyatt's life there may well have existed a hearty friendship between the two poets. John Leland in his *Naeniae in Mortem Thomas Viati, Equitis Incomparabilis*, 1542, dedicated to Surrey, gives the following contemporary evidence of the relation of the two poets:

Accipe, Regnorum comes illustrissime, carmen
Quo mea Musa tuum laudavit moesta Viatum
Non exspectato sublatum funere terris.
Nominis ille tui, dum vixit, magnus amator.
Nunc modo tu vivum coluisti candidus illum,
Verum etiam vita defunctum carmine tali
Collaudasti, quale suum Chaucerus, avitae
Dulce decus linguae, vel juste agnosceret esse.

The poem may be paraphrased as follows: "If in a rude and unscientific age, Jove won undying gratitude in Crete, and others won like gratitude elsewhere, for teaching the arts of humanity; if, even in times of greatest ingratitude, there have always been some to extol virtue—a goodly means to deter men from crime and to inflame them with a passion for virtue—; shall Wyatt's friends be blamed if, in modern days, they deplore—the only office that the living can perform for the dead—the loss of one who used his rare mind to teach Christ to his fellows? When living, his face vexed you, and now his very ashes consume you with envy."

13-14. Surrey has especially in mind Edmund Bonner and Simon Heynes, who, in 1538, accused Wyatt of complicity with Cardinal Pole, of loose living, and of speaking contemptuously of the king; charges which were pressed with such warmth after the death of his friend Cromwell in 1540 that Wyatt was confined for a time to the Tower.

45

See introductory note to the preceding poem.

2-3. See note to verses 13-14 of the preceding poem.

4. Cf. Pet. *Son in Vita* 29.1-4:

Quel ch' in Tessaglia ebbe le man sì pronte
A farla del civil sangue vermiglia,
Planse morto il marito di sua figlia,
Raffigurato alle fattezze conte.

Cf. also *Ibid* 70. 1-4:

Cesare, poi che 'l traditor d' Egitto
Lì fece il don dell' onorata testa,
Celando l' allegrezza manifesta,
Planse per gli occhi fuor, siccome è scritto.

12. Cf. *Trois. and Cris.* 5. 1788:

And kiss the steps whereas thou seest pace
Of Virgil, Ovid, Homer, Lucan, Stace.

46

See introductory note to no. 44.

47

The subject of this poem is Thomas Clere (died April 14, 1545), Surrey's companion and squire, who, in saving the life of Surrey at the siege of Montreuil (September 19, 1544), received a wound from which he never recovered. Clere was buried at Lambeth, in the chapel assigned to the Howards, and the verses were inscribed on the tablet suspended near the tomb.

1. Clere was born at Ormesby, his father's seat in Norfolk.

2. He was descended from the DeClermont house. Nott emends to read: "Clere, of the Count of Cleremont, thou'rt hight." But the emendation misses the meaning, for the whole point of the epitaph is to identify Clere with the Howard family. In effect, the thought is as follows: "Though of another house, the Howards claim you: you were born in Norfolk, your remains rest in our chapel, you had the blood of the Ormondes, a house united to ours by marriage (Clere's uncle, Thomas Boleyn, a grandson of the seventh Earl of Ormonde, having married Elizabeth Howard), your lady was Mary Shelton, daughter of another allied house (Mary being the cousin of Anne Boleyn), and you chose me as your lord, saving my life at the expense of your own." The epitaph demonstrates the propriety of burying Clere in the Howard chapel.

3. His maternal grandmother was Margaret, daughter of Thomas, Earl of Ormonde.

4. Anne Boleyn; also descended from the Earl of Ormonde.

5. Clere was in love with Mary Shelton, a lady of the court. See notes to 21.

7. Kelsal; a town that had been burned in the expedition against Scotland in the autumn of 1542.

8. Surrey and Clere served under Sir John Wallop at the siege of Landrecy in October, 1543. Boulogne was taken by Henry in person, in September, 1544, a few days after the fall of Montreuil.

13. That these words are not mere rhetoric is evidenced by Surrey's generosity to his young attendant. Nott (LXXXVIII) cites the Patent Rolls to the effect that Surrey "made over to him all his rights in the Manor of Wyndham, which he had received by grant from the king, the 26th of November, 1545. On the 12th of May previous, he sold to him the Manor of Bradcarehall and the Rectory of Shropham in Norfolk."

48

The translations from Ecclesiastes and the Psalms are very free, and are given a modern atmosphere and a personal bent. They are full of the color of Tudor England, and they reflect the disillusionment of fortune that was so poignantly felt by sensitive and high-spirited men who were the victims of royal caprice. The introductory verses to Psalms 88 and 73 (See poems 35 and 36) furnish unequivocal evidence, quite aside from internal evidence, that the Psalms were translated during Surrey's final imprisonment, and the like temper of the translations from Ecclesiastes is strong presumptive evidence that they were produced at the same time. They bespeak the same tormenting sense of the treachery of friends, the malice of enemies, and the mutability of things temporal.

3-4. These verses illustrate the freedom which Surrey takes with the original. The Latin merely says (v. 2): *Vanitas vanitatum, dixit Ecclesiastes; vanitas vanitatum, et omnia vanitas.*

7-10. Cf. the Vulgate (v.4): *Generatio praeterit, et generatio advenit; terra autem in aeternum stat.*

13-16. This passage is much more spirited and picturesque than the original (vs. 6-7): *Gyrat per meridiem, et flectitur ad aquilonem; lustrans universa in circuitu pergit spiritus, et in circulos suos reveritur. Omnia flumina intrans in mare, et mare non redundat; ad locum, unde exeunt flumina, revertuntur, ut iterum fluant.*

29. "Kyndled" is here an adjective.

29-30. Cf. the Vulgate (vs. 13): *Hanc occupationem pessimam dedit Deus filiis hominum, ut occuparentur in ea.*

43-44. "Such men as endeavor to institute new things can learn the futility thereof from those who receive these efforts with scorn." The Vulgate reads (vs. 17): *Et agnovi, quod in his quoque esset labor, et afflictio spiritus, eo quod in multa sapientia multa sit indignatio, et qui addit scientiam, addit et laborem.* Surrey arrives at his meaning through interpreting *indignatio* as the vexation or displeasure which ones search for wisdom causes others, not as the vexation felt by the searcher himself. The King James version properly accepts the latter interpretation: "For in much wisdom is much grief."

49

11ff. This very free translation is doubtless construed to Surrey's own ambitious designs in building Mount Surrey. It is most significant that there is no warrant in the original for the motive expressed in verse 12: "By princely actes thus straue I still to make my fame indure." The gaining of wisdom is the sole motive expressed in the original.

21-24. Note the liberties here taken in translation (vs.8): *Feci mihi cantores et cantatrices, et delicias filiorum hominum, scyphos et urceos in ministerio ad vina fundenda.*

35-39. This is all an amplification of the sentence (vs. 12): *Transivi ad contemplan- dam sapientiam, erroresque et stultitiam.*

35. "Then I realized how, thus glorying in my ability to achieve my ends, I had been the victim of my pride."

63-64. "Who can foretell the character of him to whom I must leave my goods?"

53-56. "As the just reward of folly is quickly forgotten after slanderers' loathsome voice proclaims it, so that just fame which should attend the deserving is as quickly obliterated by time."

77-82. A departure from the original (vs. 26): *Homini bono in conspectu suo dedit Deus sapientiam, et scientiam et laetitiam; peccatori autem dedit afflictionem et curam superfluum, ut addat, et congreget, et tradit ei, qui placuit Deo; sed et hoc vanitas est, et cassa sollicitudo mentis.*

81-82. "But I, so far-famed for my riches, know how little value there is in the heaping up of treasure."

50

Surrey has construed the opening verses of this familiar chapter, designed to show the propriety of times and seasons, to a pronouncement of the caprice and instability of man's conduct.

5. "The plants which we grafted with so much trouble."

11-12. Considering the destruction of the monasteries, a very suggestive Tudor interpretation of the Latin (vs. 5): *Tempus spargendi lapides, et tempus colligendi.*

25-33. An interesting treatment of the original (vs. 11): *Cuncta fecit bona in tempore suo, et mundum tradidit disputationi eorum, ut non inueniat homo opus, quod operatus est Deus ab initio usque ad finem.*

61-66. Surrey reads the golden mean and Christian largesse into this passage. The original is as follows (vs. 22): *Et deprehendi nihil esse melius, quam laetari hominem in opere suo, et hanc esse partem illius. Quis enim eum adducet, ut post se futura cognoscat?*

51

11-16. Cf. the Latin (vs. 4-6): *Rursum contemplatus sum omnes labores hominum, et industrias animadverti patere invidiae proximi; et in hoc ergo vanitas, et cura superflua est. Stultus complicat manus suas, et comedit carnes suas, dicens: Melior est pugillus cum requie, quam plena utraque manus cum labore et afflictione animi.*

37-46. This passage is construed and elaborated from the following (vs. 14-15): *quod de carcere catenisque interdum quis egrediatur ad regnum; et alius natus in regno, inopia consumatur. Vidi cunctos viventes, qui ambulant sub sole cum adolescente secundo, qui consurget pro eo.*

43-44. "I have seen others, friends or foes indifferently, wear their feet bare in pursuing those on whom fortune smiles."

49. "A train equally as great."

51-58. The King James translation does not recognize the following verse (17) which is the basis for these fervent lines: *Multo enim melior est obedientia, quam stultorum victimae, qui nesciunt, quid faciunt mali.* Surrey evidently had in mind, among other passages, Psalm 50. 17 (Psalm 51, 17, in the King James version): *Sacrificium Deo spiritus contribulatus: cor contritum et humiliatum, Deus, non despicies.*

52

29-30. These verses give utterance to that doctrine of moderation so often met in the writers of this period. See notes to 41.

The couplet is an interpolation, though the thought is the converse of that in verse 9 of the Vulgate (vs. 10 of the King James version), in which the discontent of the rich is expressed.

31-32. The fine sentiment in this couplet is construed from the following (vs. 8): *Et insuper universae terrae rex imperat servienti.*

37-38. The original hardly warrants this construction (vs. 10): *Ubi multae sunt opes, multi at qui comedunt eas. Et quid prodest possessori, nisi quod cernit divitias oculis suis.*

40. Nott alters to read, "and feasts of none excess", but the Vulgate confirms the manuscript reading (vs. 11): *Dulcis est somnus operanti, sive parum, sive multum comedat.*

41-42. The meaning of this awkward passage would seem to be something as follows: "But the rich lie awake, whose animal heat cannot so soon induce rest, because it cannot digest the variety of meats with which they have overcharged their bodies." The Latin is as follows (vs. 11): *Saturitas autem divitis non sinit eum dormire.*

53-62. In this passage the poet construes the thought to extol benevolence. The vulgate reads (vs. 17-18): *Hoc itaque visum est mihi bonum, ut comedat quis, et bibat, et fruatur laetitia ex labore suo, quo laboravit ipse sub sole numero dierum vitae suae, quos dedit ei Deus, et haec est pars illius. Et omni homini, cui dedit Deus divitias, atque substantiam potestatemque ei tribuit, ut commedat ex eis, et fruatur parte sua, et laetetur de labore suo: hoc est donum Dei.*

53

This Psalm is found only in *MS. A*. It has none of the intense emotion of the other three Psalms, and may have been written at an earlier period. The translation is free, very spirited, full of color, and worshipful in tone.

45-52. The only suggestion for these lines is the concluding verse (10): *Domine Dominus noster, quam admirabile est nomen tuum in universa terra.*

54

Although this Psalm appears after Psalms 88 and 73 in both *MSS. P* and *A*, its haughty militant tone is in marked contrast to the exalted resignation that characterizes them, and has led Bapst to assign it to the early days—the 2 to the 12—of December, 1546, during which Surrey, in common with his erstwhile friend, now his accuser, Sir Richard Southwell, was merely detained in custody. Surrey allows himself the utmost latitude in translation; indeed, the poem is to all intents and purposes autobiographical,—an angry invective against his enemies.

11-12. "What means of flight can my complaints lay hold of, that I may escape from the stormy blasts that threaten me?"

13. An interesting adaptation of the Latin (vs. 10): *praecipita, Domine: divide linguas eorum*.

The "conjured league" are his accusers, such as Southwell, Sir Edmund Knyvet, and Sir Gawain Carew, who arose on every hand to inform against Surrey.

22-25. Sir Richard Southwell, who had informed the Council that Surrey had used the arms of Edward the Confessor in quartering his arms. Southwell, though thirteen years older than Surrey, had long been an intimate friend. Surrey alludes to him as "my friend" in a letter to his father under date of October 15, 1536 (*Letters and Papers*, 11, 727; quoted by Bapst, p. 220.); Southwell was for a time attached to the household of Norfolk, took part with Surrey in the Pilgrimage of Grace, and served under him in France.

26. I see no need of altering "them" to "him". The poets mind here reverts to the many enemies that suddenly had come out into the open, the "conjured league". The original itself observes this sudden change to the plural (vs. 16): *Veniat mors super illos, et descendant in infernum viventes*.

38-39. The Vulgate merely says (vs. 22): *Molliti sunt sermones ejus super oleum; et ipsi sunt jacula*. Surrey evidently had in mind the prior English translations.

42-48. At this point Surrey impatiently drops the role of translator, and gives vent to his indignation. The "friar", whose falseness is here condemned, has not been identifiable. He was evidently some ecclesiastic who had been a party to the accusation, or who, during Surrey's confinement, had sought to deceive him, perhaps by giving him false assurance.

47. By "thother Psalm" I think that Surrey meant not another Psalm, but the untranslated verse (23) of the present Psalm: *Iacta super Dominum curam tuam, et ipse te enutriet: non dabit in aeternum fluctuationem justo*. Perhaps the poet had quite as much in mind the succeeding and final verse: *Tu vero, Deus, deduces eos in puteum interitus. Viri sanguinum, et dolosi non dimidiabunt dies suos; ego autem sperabo in te, Domine*.

55

This poem is marked by a spirit of repentance and deep humility; it is the utterance of a Christian gentleman schooling himself to the thought of death. Verse 37, "My wretched state beholde whome death shall strait assaile," to all intents an interpolation, leaves no doubt, quite aside from other testimony, as to the time of composition. The poet has construed a Psalm which, though "containing a grievous complaint", is not penitential, to voice his own deep sense of repentance. Thus, verses 3-4,

Graunt that the iust request of this repentaunt mynd
So perce thyne eares that in thy sight som fauour it may find,

are represented in the Latin only by the following (vs. 3): *Intret in conspectu tuo oratio mea; inclina aurem tuam ad precem meam*. Verse 5: "My sowle is fraughted full with grief of follies past," is construed from the words (v. 4), *Quia repleta est malis anima mea*. Again, verses 33-34,

And in the morning eke, when that the slepe is fledd,
With floods of salt repentaunt teres to washe my restles bedd,

are construed from the clause (v. 14), *Et mane oratio mea praeveniet te*.

9. "To please my foe" is a pure interpolation.

13-14. The very personal application of these verses is emphasized by a comparison with the Latin (vs. 9): *Longe fecisti notos meos a me: posuerunt me abominationem sibi*.

19-31. The translation is here very free. Thus, verses 19-22 are represented in the Latin only by the clause (v. 11), *Numquid mortuis facies mirabilia?* Verses 25-26 translate (v. 13), *Numquid cognoscentur in tenebris mirabilia tua, et iustitia tua in terra oblivionis*. Verses 29-30 are interpolated.

37-38. The Latin merely says (v. 16): *Pauper sum ego, et in laboribus a iuventute mea: exaltatus autem, humiliatus sum et conturbatus*.

43-44. Note that Surrey does not, as does the Psalmist, attribute this forced absence of his friends to God's doings: (v. 19): *Elongasti a me amicum et proximum et notos meos a miseria.*

56

29-30. Cf. the Latin (v. 13): *Ergo sine causa justificavi cor meum, et lavi inter innocentes manus meas.*

34-37. Cf. the Latin (v. 15-16): *Si dicebam: Narrabo sic: ecce nationem filiorum tuorum reprobavi. Existimabam, ut cognoscerem hoc, labor est ante me.*

39-51. Surrey clearly has his proud enemies in mind.

43-48. An amplification of the following verse (20): *Velut somnium surgentium, Domine, in civitate tua imaginem ipsorum ad nihilum rediges.*

49-50. A very free adaptation; the Latin reads (v. 21): *Quia inflammatum est cor meum, et renes mei commutati sunt.*

53. This verse is an interpolation, and therefore doubly significant as a biographical reference. It is one of several passages in his Psalms which show that Surrey had long had bitter enemies.

15-56. A poetical translation of the words (v. 24): *Tenuisti manum dexteram meam.*

57

Surrey's translation of the second book of the *Æneid* cannot be assigned to an earlier date than 1539, as it shows frequent indebtedness to the Italian translation by Cardinal Hippolito de Medici or his secretary which appeared as a separate volume that year, and appeared in the following year in a translation of the first six books by various authors.

There is some uncertainty as to which of the two books, the second or the fourth, Surrey translated first. The fact that the translation of the fourth book is obviously indebted to the Italian version in blank verse by Nicolo Liburnio published in 1534, and that this translation owes little if anything at all to the translation by Piccolomini which appeared in the 1540 volume referred to above, and the further fact that the fourth book seems to have been better known,—so much better, in fact, that Day printed it in 1554, apparently ignorant that Surrey had translated any other book—, favor assigning priority of translation to this book.

On the other hand, the second book is more indebted to the translation by Hippolito than is the fourth book to the version by Liburnio, and the second book leans much more upon the Scotch translation by Gawin Douglas than does the fourth book. Moreover, the second book uses the old suffix *en* seven times (vs. 77, 291, 741, 196, 206, 824, 884) as opposed to four instances of its use in H (*Ms. Hargrave* 205), the earliest version of Book Four, and the prefix *y* five times (vs. 137, 157, 219, 336, 523), as opposed to one instance in H. Furthermore, the anapaest is used only nine times (vs. 62, 245, 304, 435, 591, 614, 755, 786, 991), and the amphibrach only two or three times (vs. 333, 638, 1012), in Book Two, as opposed to twelve anapaests and thirteen amphibrachs in H. (For the line references in H., see the introductory note to the notes on Book Four.) Surrey employed these feet much more freely in his later verse. Again, as Imelmann points out, certain expressions in the second book which translate the Latin literally are to be met with again in the fourth book, where they can only be regarded as very free translations. Thus Virgil 2. 98-99, *spargere voces in vulgum ambiguas*, yields (2. 122) "*In common eares false rumors gan he sowe*," whereas v. 4. 189, *Haec tum multiplici populos sermone replebat*, is translated (H. 244-245),

This monster blith with manie a tale gan sowe
This rumour then into the common eares.

So also V. 2. 624, *considerare in ignes*, yields (2. 821) "*fall down in burning gledes*", whereas V. 4. 167, *fulsere ignes*, is translated (H. 215), "*with burning gledes of flame*." As *sow* is a

closer translation of *spargere* than of *replebat*, the presumption is that in each of these instances the phrasing in the fourth book was influenced by the phrasing in the second. Taking all factors into account, I am inclined to think that the second book was the first to be translated.

In both books Surrey was much indebted to the Scotch translation by Douglas, borrowing words and phrases at will. I have not attempted to note all such obligations, but I have given characteristic instances in the notes to Book Two, and in the notes to Book Four have endeavored to quote all passages from Douglas which throw light upon the variants in the three versions of the translation. From the Italian translations I have intended to quote all significant passages. I question, however, whether Surrey actually borrowed from Piccolomini at all, a doubt that is also entertained by Miss Willcock. Surrey's great indebtedness to the Italians was in the matter of form. In them he had models of concise translation, in contrast to the prolixity of Douglas. His ambition would seem to have been to surpass the Italians themselves in succinctness and he actually succeeded in compressing the thought into fewer lines than they, approximating the frugality of the Latin itself. Thus Virgil has 705 lines in Book Four; Liburnio, 1141; Piccolomini, 1005; and Surrey, 940.

In translating the second book Surrey would also seem to have been mindful of a French translation by Octavien de Saint Gelais, Bishop of Angoulesme, which was part of *Les Oeuvres de Virgille* that appeared in 1529. There is some reason to think that Douglas had access to this translation in manuscript form. I have not been able to secure rotographs of this book, but have noted the more significant parallelisms from the table of comparative passages furnished by Fest.

18-22. Cf. Dg(68.1-5).:

The Greikis chiftanes, irkit of the weir
Bypast or than so mony langsum jeir,
And oft rebutit by fatalle destany,
Ane hulge hors, like ane greit hill, in hy
Craftelle thai wrocht in wirschip of Pallas.

22. *Minerua* may be suggested by Hip. (23): *di minerua* Con diuin'arte.

36-39. Cf. Dg(69.4-8).:

Quharfor all thai of Troy, blyth as thai mocht,
Thair langsum dulle and murnyng did away,
Kelst wp the portis and ischit furth to play,
The Greikis tentis desyrus for to se,
And voyd placis quhar thai war wont to be.

40. *Pyrrhus* may be suggested by Hip. (45): *qui stauan le genti Di Pirrho*.

71-72. Cf. Oct(Fest 59).:

Las! si fortune alors nous eust bien dit,
Allheure estoit leur prinse decouverte.

V(54-55). reads:

Et, si fata deum, si mens non laeva fuisset,
Impulerat ferro Argolicas foedare latebras.

74-78. Cf. Dg(71.1-5).:

Lo, the ilk tyme, harland onto the King
Trolane hirdis with greit clamour did bring
A jong man, baith his handis behynd his bak
Hard bundin, that wilfully for to be tak
Rendrit himself.

82-83. The influence of Hip (98-100). is apparent:

La glouentu Trolana d' ogn' intorno
Sparsa corre a uederlo e fanno a gara,
Chi piu faccia al prigion uergogna e scorno.

V(63-64). reads:

Undique visendi studio Troiana iuventus
Circumfusa ruit, certantque inludere capto.

87. Cf. Hip (104).: *Sbigottito nel uolto*. V(67). reads:

Namque ut conspectu in medio turbatus,

135. Cf. Oct(Fest 59): reprint son dire. V(107). merely reads *fatur*.

293. Oct(Fest 58). may have influenced the translation:

Droit au temple de la dame Pallas.

V(232). does not mention the name of the goddess:

Ducendum ad sedes simulacrum orandaque divae
Numina conclamant.

298-301. Cf. Dg(81.31-82.4):

The fatale monstour clame our the wallis then,
Greit wamit, and stuffit full of armyt men;
And thair about ran childring and maidis jing,
Singand carellis and dansand in a ring;
Full wele was thame, and glad was euery wycht,
That with thair handis anis twich the cordis mycht.

311. Cf. Hip (363): dal uoler di Dio *sospinta*; whereas C(247). only says: Ora, dei iussu non umquam credita Teucris.

339. Cf. Hip (395): *Le coniurate* lor schiere ordinando. V(267). reads: agmina conscia iungunt.

352. Cf. Hip (410):

e inuolti i crespi crini
Nel sangue hauea.

V(277). merely says. concretos sanguine crinis.

395. Cf. Hip. (457):

Allhor la falsa fede e i fieri inganni
De i Greci ascosti u' appariscon ueri.

V(309-310). reads:

Tum vero manifesta fides, Danaumque patescunt
Insidiae.

445-462. Cf. Dg(89.8-30):

O, je most forcy jong men that bene heir,
With breistis strang, and sa bald curage hie,
In vayne je preis to succour this citie
Quhilk byrnis all in fire and flambis reid;
The goddis ar all fled out of this steid,
Throw quhais mycht stuide our empire mony day;
Now all thair templis and altaris waist leif thai.
Bot gif your desire be sa fermle prest
To follow me, dar tak the wtyrmest
Quhat fortune is betyde, all thingis je se;
Thair is na mair; lat ws togidder dee,
And in amynd our enemyis army schute.
To wencust folkis is a confort and bute
Nane hoipe of help to beleif, or reskew.
Swa, with thir woundis, the jong menis curage grew,
That in the dyrk like rawynnys wolfis, or rawis,
Quham the blynd fury of thair empty mawis
Dryvls furtht of thair den to seik thair pray,
Thair litle quhelpis left with dry throtis quhill day;
So, throw the wapnis and our fals went we
Apoun the deid vndowtit, and wald not fle.
Amynd the cietie we held the master streit;
The dirk nycht hid ws with clos schaddowis meit.

515. The translation was probably influenced by the Italian (595):

Contra al uoler de i Dei speranza alcuna.

V(402). reads Heu nihil invitis fas quemquam fidere divis.

518. Cf. Hip (600): Gli occhi *infiammati*. V(405). reads: ardentia lumina.

544. Cf. Hip (629): A gli altar sacri de *l'armata* dea. V(425). reads: divae armipotentis ad aram.

593-601. Cf. Dg(95.25-96.1):

Theirat I enterit, and to the wallis hycht
Wpwent, quhair wrechit Troianis, as thai mycht,
Threw doun dartis, thocht all was bot in waist.
We stert ontill a hie turret on haist,
The top wpstrekind to the sterris hie,
Quharon we wont war all Troy for to see,
The Grekis schippis, and thair tentis eik.
With instrumentis of yrne we pyke, and seik
Round all about quhar the jonyngis war worn.

607-608. Cf. Hip (691-692).:

Al portico dinanzi, e ne la prima
Porta con l' arme staua lieto Pirrho.

V(469-470). merely says:

Vestibulum ante ipsum primoque in limine Pyrrhus
Exultat.

655-665. Cf. Dg(98.17-99.5).:

Perauentur, of Priamus je wald speir
How tyde the chance; his fait, gif je list, heir.
Quhen he the cietle saw takin and doun bet,
And of his palice broken every jet,
Amyd the secrete closettis elk his fais,
The ald gray, all for nocht, to him tays
His hawbrek quhilk was lang furth of vsage,
Set on his shoulderis trymbing than for age;
A swerd, but help, about him beltis he,
And ran towart his fais, reddi to de.
Amyd the cloiss, vnder the hevin all bair,
Stude thair that tyme a mekle fair altair,
Neir quhame thar grew a rycht auld laurer tree,
Bowand towart the altair a little wee,
That with his schaddow the goddis did ourheid.

675-676. The repetition of *such* is suggested by Hip. (778-779):

Non tale aiuto, non difese tali
Quanto tempo richiude.

685-686. Cf. Hip. (788-789).:

e piegato le gran corti uote
Ricerca in uano.

V(528-529). reads: vacua atria lustrat Saucius.

711. *Without sound*: Cf. V(544-545).:

Sic fatus senior, telumque imbellis sine ictu
Coniecit raucis quod protinus aere repulsum.

721. Cf. Hip. (826):

Questo di fatti fu di priamo il fine.

V(554). reads:

Haec finis Priami fatorum; hic exitus illum
Sorte tulit.

740-745. Cf. Dg(102.1-6).:

All war thair fled full wery, left me allane;
Sum to erd loppin fro the hie towris of stane,
Sum in the fyre thair irkit bodyis leit fall.
Thair was na ma bot I left of thame all,
Quhen in the temple of Vesta the goddes
Lurkand full law, intill a secrete place—

749. Cf. Hip(853).:

Per la ruina de la antiche mura.

V(571). merely says: eversa ob Pergama.

781-782. Cf. Hip(889).:

Figlio, qual gran furor ti muoue, e spinge
Irè sì fiero?

V(594). reads:

Nate, quis indomitas tantus dolor excitat iras.

788. Cf. Hip(897).:

E se non fusse ch'io pur gli ho difesi.

V(599). reads: ni mea cura resistat.

795. Cf. Hip(906-907).: e ti fa *oscuro* intorno. V(605) reads: et umida circum
Caligat.

818-823. Cf. Dg(105.3-9).:

This saing, sche hir hid in the clos nycht.
Than terrible figuris apperis to my sycht
Of greit goddis, semand with Troy aggrevit.
And tho beheld I all the cite mischevit,
Fair Ilion all fall in gledis doun,
And, fra the soill, grete Troy, Neptunus toun,
Ourtumblit to the ground.

Razed may have been suggested by Oct(Fest 59):

Lors me sembla que tout fust embrasé
En feu et flammes Ilion et rasé.

859. Cf. Hip(978-979): al *crudo* fato Ceder. V(653). reads, *fatoque urgenti incumbere*.

880-890. Cf. Dg(107.22-108.1):

The lattir end, thus vencust and wndone,
Callis ws agane to battale and assay:
Haue done, cum on, this is our lattir day.
Rendir me to the Grekis, or suffir me
The bargane agane begwn at I ma see;
This day wnwrokin we sall neuir al be slane.
About me than my swerd I belt agane,—
* * * * *
And litle Iulus forgane his fadir upset:
Gif thou list pas, quod sche, thi self to spill—

896. Cf. Hip(1020-1021):

Ella cosi gridaua, e d'un gran pianto
Tutta la casa empiua.

V(679). reads:

Talia vociferans gemitu tectum omne replebat.

915. Cf. Hip(1044-1045):

e seco indi trahea
Con molta luce una facella accessa.

V(694). reads: *facem ducens*.

917. Cf. Hip(1048-1049):

ne la selua Idea
Asconder i suoi raggi.

V(696). reads: *Idaea claram se condere silva*.

921-925. Cf. Dg(109.19-24):

With that, my fader vencust start on fuite,
And to the goddis carpis to be our bruite,
The haly sterne adornit he rycht thair;
Now, now, quod he, I tary ne langair;
I follow, and quhiddir je gide me sall I wend.
O native goddis, your awne kinrent defend.

943-944. Cf. Oct(Fest 58):

Ung temple y a de longue antiquité,
Jadis basty pour Ceres la deesse.

V(714). merely says: *templum vetustum Desertae Cereris*.

967. Cf. Oct(Fest 58):

bien certes pensoye
Estre echappé de peril.

V(730-731). reads:

omnemque videbar
Evasisse viam.

1051. Cf. Oct(Fest 58): *l'enfant qui fuit e tien e mien*.

V(789). reads: *nati communis*.

There are extant three sixteenth century versions of Surrey's translation of the fourth book, a version printed by John Day for William Owen, presumably in 1554, Tottel's printed version of 1557, and a version in Ms. Hargrave 205. Of these three, the manuscript version, though Elizabethan, most nearly reproduces Surrey's original translation. The ms. contains, in addition to the translation, The Tragedy of Gismund of Salerne and a dictionary of poetical epithets. As the tragedy and the translation are in the same hand, the small conventional hand of the professional scribe, and as the tragedy is early Elizabethan work, having been produced before the Queen by the "Gentlemen of the Inns of Court" in 1568, this copy of the translation cannot be pre-Elizabethan. Manifestly the copy was made for some gentleman who felt the sixteenth century gentleman's preference for a manuscript, rather than a printed, version. But though the copy is so late, it follows an original that must have been early and relatively authentic, for, as

compared to the two printed texts, it contains many archaic words and traditional inflections, grammatical irregularities, inconsistencies in tense, a relative disregard of the identity of word accent and of metrical accent, incomplete verses, and a greater indebtedness to the earlier translations, notably to that of Gawin Douglas. This version, slightly emended where errors and omissions would seem to have crept in, is presented as the nearest approach to Surrey's actual translation. It may be that the poet reworked his translation to some extent, but this version was the approximate basis for any such revision.

Of Day's printed version, only one copy is known to be extant. Until the present year, this copy has formed a part of the rare library of Mr. Christie Millar at Britwell Court, Burnham Beeches. At the time of writing, it is in the hands of Sotheby, who is now disposing of the library. As scholars were not able to gain access to it, there has been much conjecture of late years about this volume, both as to the date of publication and the authenticity of the text. This uncertainty is now relieved through the series of studies being published by Miss Gladys D. Willcock, who gave a preliminary description of the ms. in *The Modern Language Review* for July, 1919, a table of variants from the readings of T. and H. in the April number of this year, and who will discuss the question of readings in forthcoming numbers. Miss Willcock gained access to the book just before the opening of the war, but has been unable to revise her copy or correct her proof from the original text, as the library was closed during the war, and is now being dispersed. Her work, however, gives evidence of accuracy.

The title-page of this book reads as follows:

The Fourth Booke of Virgill, intreating of the love between Æneas and Dido translated into English and drawne into a strange metre by Henrye, late Earle of Surreye, worthy to be embrased.

Imprinted at London by John Day for William Owen dwellyng in Paternoster Rowe at the sygne of the cock.

Although the book is not dated, the question of date is virtually settled by the dedication. This dedication, addressed to the son of the poet, Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, is most illuminating:

"To the most pussant prince, Thomas, Duke of Norfolke, Wylliam Owen, hys most humble oratour wysbeth perpetual helthe and felicitie.

"When it chaunced a cople of thys part of Virgill, translated by your graces father (right honorable lord) by the meanes of a frend of myne to come to my handes; I had not only held ye same as no small treasure because I had heard of it lyke as others the monuments of that noble wyt of hys.... but also my desyre was great at one tyme or other, yf by a meanes convenient I myght publyshe the same: and that the rather because I coulde understande of no man that had a cople thereof, but he was more wylling the same should be kepte as a private treasure in the handes of a few, then publyshed to the common profyt and delectacion of many. But so much as my cople, although it were taken of one wrytten with the authors owne hande, was not yet so certaine that it might be thoughte of ytsel suffycient to be publyshed, partly for that the writer had not tyme sufficient to the due examinacion thereof, after it was wrytten, and also because the redyng of the authors cople itself, by reason of the spedy wryting therof, was somewhat doutful: for these causes gettyng two other copyes also, wrytten out by other men, I caused myne to be conferred with them bothe, and of theym yt to be received as most worthy to be allowed, whiche was both to the Latyn most agreable and also best standing with the dignity of that kynde of metre.

"And this my doying I trust no honest man shall be able to reprove, but rather it shall be an occasion to such as favour the monumentes of so noble a wyt, yf they have a better cople to publyshe the same. As for the unthankful I passe not how much they repine at my dede, so that I may understande your grace to take in goode part my goode wyll herein; whyche if you do (as I nothyng dout of your graces goodnesse) yt shall no little encourage me hereafter to bryng other hys workes to light as they shall come to

my handes. Thus beseeching our Lord God to continue your grace in welth and increse of virtue, I wyshe you hartily wel to fare."

Miss Willcock correctly argues that as the poet's son became the Duke of Norfolk on the death of his grandfather in August 1554, and as Day presumably issued no books in 1555 and 1556 (Cf. E. Gordon Duff, *Century of Printing*, p. 58), this book, which must have preceded Tottel's edition of 1557 inasmuch as it presents only the fourth book and that in a version obviously known to Tottel, must have appeared in the closing months of 1554.

Despite the claims of the dedication, the book is most carelessly done, for it contains a very large number of misprints. These, however, are easily detected.

A line by line comparison of H. and D. leaves no room for doubt that *in the main* H. furnishes earlier readings than D. In the first place, H. shows much more indebtedness to the Scotch translation by Douglas than does D., there being many passages in which D. departs from earlier readings as found in H. which had been influenced by this translation, and only a solitary passage in which the reverse is true. Moreover, D. builds out three lines metrically incomplete in H. (230, 693, 892. Here, and in subsequent references, the line numbers are those of D., which are identical with those of T.): it revises fifteen readings to avoid such archaisms as the old verbal suffixes *en* and *eth*, the verbal prefix *y*, the infinitive introduced by *for to*, and the auxiliaries *nedes*, *gan*, *do*, *doth*, *did* (2, 13, 22, 40, 83, 185, 187, 194, 355, 368, 495, 548, 785, 811, 812); it revises twelve verses in the interest of accent (53, 173, 174, 239, 314, 460, 535, 583, 635, 782, 889, 906); it revises twenty-one sentences to improve the syntax (29, 252, 254, 341-343, 377-379, 384, 425, 454, 532, 601, 609, 664, 678, 717, 739, 750, 791, 806, 841-843, 898, 904); it successfully revises six verses to secure more finished phrasing (14, 191, 650, 873, 892, 905); and effectively revises twenty-eight passages,—words, phrases, or entire sentences—, in the interest of accurate translation (54, 133, 135, 184, 268, 300, 329, 341-343, 375, 408-412, 483, 486, 579, 587, 656, 674, 686, 694, 702, 750, 775, 778, 779, 796, 816, 873, 893, 909). Again it makes very generous use of the anapaest and amphibrach, employing the former three or four times as often as does H., and the amphibrach twice as often.

On the other hand, there are some verses in D. that are more defective in syntax and in metre, and a large number that are more defective in translation than the corresponding verses in H. These will be considered later.

The interesting question at once arises, did Surrey himself make some, or all, of the revisions enumerated above. That he did not make all of them is certain; on the other hand, it is conceivable, although the evidence is rather inconclusive, that he did make some of them.

Comparison with those poems which were obviously written in his later years creates a strong presumption against attributing to Surrey those changes in D. made in the interest of more modernized reading. The following very partial series of references to the later poems will show how freely Surrey used the infinitive introduced by *for to* and the auxiliaries *gan* and *do* in his later verse:

The infinitive introduced by *for to*:

Psalm 88 (No. 55; date, 1546): vs. 17, 18.

"Good ladies, you that have your pleasure in exyle" (No. 33; date, 1544-1546): vs. 11.

The auxiliaries *do*, *did*, *doth*:

Prologue to Psalm 73 (No. 36; date 1546): vs. 9.

Psalm 73 (No. 56; date 1546): vs. 3.

Psalm 88: vs. 42.

"Good ladies, you that have your pleasure in exyle": vs. 3.

A Tribute to Wyatt (No. 44; date 1542): vs. 13, 14.

A Second Tribute to Wyatt (No. 45; date, 1542): vs. 1, 12, 13.

A Third Tribute to Wyatt (No. 46; date, 1542): vs. 5, 9, 18.

A Tribute to Thomas Clere (No. 47; date, 1545): vs. 6, 11.

. The auxiliary *gan*:

"Eache beeste can chuse his feere" (No. 34; date, 1542): vs. 12, 18, 26.

Prologue to Psalm 73: vs. 10.

Psalm 73: vs. 34.

The verbal suffix *ed* treated as a separate syllable occurs about once in every ten lines in H., an average that is maintained in the later poems. Again, the suffix *eth* is very common in the later poems, the poet affecting it rather than avoiding it.

There remain those rare instances in which H. uses the verbal suffix *en* and the verbal prefix *y*. The former occurs four times (vs. 13, 84, 247, 545) and the latter once (vs. 9). With the exception of vs. 247, D. revises all of these lines to obviate the archaisms. As these forms are not to be met in any of the later poems, the revisions are clearly in line with Surrey's ultimate practice. Moreover, as the suffix *en* occurs seven times in the translation of Book Two and the prefix *y*, five times, unless H. itself represents the revision of some still earlier version, the translation of the fourth book would seem to record the changing practice of the poet so far as these forms are concerned. The internal evidence, however, does not favor assigning these revisions in D. to Surrey, for they violate that close translation of the Latin which Surrey seems to have been scrupulously careful to secure. Vs. 13 reads in H.:

What dremes
Be these that me tormenten thus afraide?

D. revises to read:

Be these that me tormented thus afay,

changing the finite verb to a participle, and the participle to a finite verb. The Latin (9) favors H.:

Anna soror, quae me suspensam insomnia terrent?

Likewise in vs. 545 the Latin (417), *vocat iam carbasus auras*, favors the finite verb in H.:

The streminge sayles abyden but for windes,

rather than the participle *abiding* in D.

Again, it is not likely that Surrey was responsible for those revisions in D. aimed to secure identity of word accent and metrical accent. He appreciated that blank verse must be flexible, that to sustain a spirited narrative the measure must be kept vigorous through a judicious interspersing of trochees and other feet, and there is abundant evidence that he aimed to keep his blank verse from becoming flabby or mechanical.

Nor is it reasonable to assign to Surrey those many revisions in D. that result in anapaests and amphibrachs. To be sure, these feet are found more often in H. than in Book Two, the anapaest occurring twelve times in H. (58, 67, 161, 389, 415, 457, 484, 771, 809, 866, 901, 924) as opposed to nine in Book Two (62, 245, 304, 435, 591, 614, 755, 786, 991), and, disregarding such elisions as *eyen*, *heuen*, *descriest*, the amphibrach occurring fifteen times in H. (117, 129, 219, 349, 424, 441, 536, 647, 675, 697, 709, 717, 722, 828, 908) as opposed to three times in Book Two (332, 638, 1012). But D. affects these feet, adding over thirty anapaests and a dozen amphibrachs, often, in fact, inserting unnecessary words in order to secure them. The later poems do not show any such marked predilection for these feet. Moreover, T. does not follow D. in the majority of these readings, showing incidentally that D. represents the work of some reviser whose changes did not commend themselves to the later editor.

The improvements in syntax that D. secures include many slight revisions to obtain uniformity in the tense and number of verbs, and a few elaborate revisions to remedy imperfect sentences. The former type of revision is illustrated in the following: H (528-529). reads:

When the blake swarme creepes ouer all the feeldes,
& thrawt the grasse by straight pathes dragg ther praye.

D (532). replaces *dragg* by *drags*, thus securing consistency in number. As an example of the more elaborate revision may be cited the respective translations of vs. 628-629:

Litora litoribus contraria, fluctibus undas
Imprecor, arma armis; pugnent ipsique nepotesque.

With his characteristic conciseness Surrey translated to read (H. 836-838):

Our coostes to them contrarie be thei aie,
I craue of God; that our streames to ther fluddes;
Armes vnto armes; & ofspringe of ech race!

D (841-843). revised as follows:

Our costes to them contrary be for aye,
I craue of God; and our streames to their fluddes;
Armes unto armes; and ofspring of eache race
With mortal warr eche other may fordoe!

Although D. secures better sentence construction, it amplifies the last clause in a manner quite foreign to Surrey. While, therefore, Surrey may have made some of these revisions, he clearly did not make all of them.

The improvements in translation to be noted in D. concern for the most part such slight points as the translation of a singular noun by a plural, or a plural by a singular, or the closer translation of a Latin verb, but in a few instances D. corrects a glaring mistranslation. A conspicuous illustration of the latter is furnished in the translation of vs. 42-43:

Hinc deserta siti regio, lateque furentes
Barcaei.

Misunderstanding *siti* and taking it for a proper noun, Surrey originally translated as follows (H. 54-55):

On thother hand, a desert realme ^{The} ~~for~~ ^{of Scythia} thurst.
The Barceans, whose furie stretcheth wide.

D. corrects to read:

On thother hand, a desert realme for thurst.

It is quite conceivable that Surrey made some of these revisions, because he was scrupulously anxious to secure an accurate translation, and one of the versions of which Owen, the editor of D., speaks may contain such author's revisions.

On the other hand, there are more instances in which D. mistranslates where H. follows the Latin, than instances in which D. corrects faulty translations in H. Altogether I have noted thirty-four such passages (D., vs. 32, 41, 50, 72, 88, 161, 196, 208, 209, 233-234, 261, 262, 270, 279, 330, 352, 362, 413, 421, 480, 519, 635, 646, 670, 707, 716, 809, 846, 868, 907, 917). One or two glaring illustrations will suffice. Vs. 151-153 of the Latin read as follows:

Postquam altos ventum in montes atque inuia lustra,
Ecce ferae, saxi delectae vertice, caprae
Decurrere iugis.

H (196-199). translates:

But to the hills and wide holtes when thei came,
From the rockes toppes the wild savage rooes
Avalle the hill, & on th other syde,
Over the laundes thei gan to take ther course.

Rooes is of course not the exact equivalent of *caprae*, but D. mistook the word for the verb *rose*, and in an effort to emend, never consulting the Latin produced the following:

From the rocks top the driven savage rose.
Loe! from the hill above, on th other side,
Throught the wyde lawnds they gan to take their course.

Again, note the translation of the following (201-202):

pecudumque cruore

Pingue solum et variis florentia limnia sertis.

H (260-261). renders:

The erthe imbrued with yelded blood of bestes,
& thresholdes spredd with garlandes strange of hew.

D reads:

Flowers embrused yelded bloode of beastes,
And threshold spred with garlands of strange hue.

This ridiculous reading in D. is the result of some revisionist's misunderstanding of an earlier version, a version which supplied the line to T.:

The floores embrude with yelded bloud of beastes.

From this comparison, if not from the preceding, it is necessary to conclude that the inaccuracies in translation to be found in D. are not to be charged to an early author's version, but rather to conclude that Owen, or one of the revisers who made the copies to which Owen alludes in his Preface, revised without consulting the Latin.

There are also frequent lines in D. that bespeak a very faulty ear (D. 39, 42, 395, 431, 584, 595, 919), and other lines that contain phrases less vigorous or picturesque, in short less poetical, than the corresponding lines in H. (D. 27, 42, 165, 177, 226, 240, 320, 324, 792.) I take it that none of these readings can be Surrey's. Thus, translating the following (247):

Atlantis durl, caelum qui vertice fulcit,

H (318). reads:

That with his crowne sustaines the welkin vp.

D. substitutes *sholders* for *crowne*, which is less accurate, less metrical, and less picturesque. In the same context, D. alters the lines (321-322):

& from his chinne
The springes discende, his berd frosen with yse,

to read:

The springes discende, his frosted beard with yse.

Although the accent is normalized, the line is distinctly weakened. In attempting to improve the following line (H. 428),

& these wordes few at lengthe furth gan he cast,

D. treats *wordes* as a dissyllable and blunders into an unpleasant internal rhyme:

These wordes yet at last then forth he cast.

Surrey would never have been guilty of such lines as these. They should not be interpreted as early and crude readings that remained imbedded in D. though corrected in H.

Although, as stated above, D. is, in the main, less archaic than H., more correct in syntax, more careful in accentuation, and more regular in number of feet, there are a few instances in which the reverse is true. Thus D. 232 contains, as opposed to H., the infinitive *for to tell*; and D. 247, a suffix in *en*:

Aeneas comen sprong of Troyan blode.

Are these reminiscent of Surrey's original readings? It may be. As opposed to H., D. also presents three instances in which the wrong tense is used: vs. 91, *left* for *leaves*; 99, *stared* for *stareth*; 219, *withheld* for *withholdes*. These also may represent Surrey's earliest readings. D. 492 contains an incorrect verb form, used to avoid an additional syllable:

Ay me! with rage and furies am I drive.

H. reads, *loe! I drive*. As the Latin (376) uses a passive verb, *Heu! furiis incensa feror*, D. may here give Surrey's original rendering. There are, finally, four verses in D. (80, 300, 641, 905) in which the accents are faulty, as opposed to correct accentuation in H., and six verses (90, 312, 401, 445, 489, 765) in which four or six feet are used instead of five. Some of these lines also may furnish the original translations. Thus the Latin (234),

Ascanione pater Romanas invidet arces?

is rendered in D (299-300):

The towers yet of Rome doth he envy
To yong Ascanus, that is his father?

This is awkward, but it observes the force of the Latin dative, and sounds earlier than the corresponding line in H (298):

That is the father of Ascanius.

There remain for consideration three passages in which D. merely quotes the Latin in lieu of translation, and a solitary passage in which D. is closer to the translation of Douglas (Dg.) than is H. As in two of the three instances in which D. quotes the Latin the same verses are untranslated in H (152, 251-252), the presumption is that Surrey had not found satisfactory translations and had left the lines for further consideration. The third passage is translated in H (387-391), but as it is a peculiarly difficult one to

turn into equally concessive English, D. is probably earlier than H., the Latin interpolation representing an original hiatus in Surrey's text. The Latin (301-303) is as follows:

qualis commotis excita sacris
Thyas, ubi auditio stimulant trieterica Baccho
Orgia nocturnusque vocat clamore Cithaeron.

H(387-391). translates:

As Thyas sturrs, the sacred rites begonne,
When the wonted third yeres sacrifice
Doth prick her furth, hering Bacchus name halowed,
& when the feastfull night of Cytheron
Doth call her owt, with noise of her dawnsing.

T(391-394). reads:

And when the wonted thirde yeres sacrifice
Doth prick her fourth, hering Bachus name hallowed,
And that the festful night of Cithaeron
Doth call her fourth, with noyes of dauncing.

It may be, of course, that D. follows a reviser who noted the metrical irregularities in the original of H. and the faulty syntax of the original of T., and so concluded to leave the passage for further study. The chances are, however, that Owen would not have printed the Latin if he had found any English version. This would seem to be one instance where the D. version is rather clearly the earlier. D. probably registers the earlier reading, also, in the solitary verse (257) in which it is closer to Dg. than is H. (See note to this line.)

As a result of the whole comparative study, my conclusions are that D. is, in the main, a later version than H., and that while it probably restores a few of Surrey's earliest readings and may possibly contain some of the poet's later revisions, it is largely the work of other revisionists, of whom there were several. Thus one recognizes four well defined tendencies in the revisions: revisions made in the interest of grammatical correctness or modernization; revisions lacking in poetical imagination and in a feeling for the music of verse; revisions aiming at correctness of translation; and revisions that altogether ignore the Latin. As Owen had access to two other versions besides a copy of an author's manuscript, and as he probably undertook some fresh revisions on his own authority, D. may well be the product of three revisionists other than the poet, and perhaps of more than three. H. must therefore be regarded as the more nearly standard text.

T. is much the most modern of the versions. It carries the revisions of syntax farther than D., secures metrical regularity, fills out incomplete lines and translates omitted passages, corrects errors in translation—though guilty of two or three glaring mistakes in translation, and secures clearness, and smooth and graceful phrasing, even at the expense of conciseness. It is the work of a revisor or editor who had good taste and a good ear, though more feminine in taste, less severe and bold, than Surrey. As a chapter in the development of English verse, it would be interesting to discuss in detail the characteristics of H. and T. relative to one another, but as this does not primarily concern Surrey, it does not properly belong to this study.

6. T. gives the more ornate rendition; H., the more faithful: V(4).: haerent infixi pectore vultus.

18. An individual rendering; cf. V(13).: Degeneres animos timor arguit.

20. Note T.'s device to remedy *atcheived* as a three syllable word.

21. Translation influenced by Dg(175. 10-10).:

Now, certis, wer it nocht determyt with me,
And fixit in my mynde unmovably,
That to no wycht in wedlock me list I—.

24. *Bowndes* (H.) is probably a scribal error for *brandes*; cf. V(18).:

Si non pertaesum thalami taedaeque fuisset.

Geniall is suggested by D(175.16).: *Genyus* chalmers.

26. V(20). justifies the *Anne* of T.

27. D. reads *fewde, defiled*, a weaker and less poetical phrase.

36. V(29). reads: ille habeat secum servetque sepulcro.

42. D. reads *dust*, a weaker word.

43-47. T. is much closer to V(35-38).:

Esto, aegram nulli quondam flexere mariti,
Non Libyae, non ante Tyro; despectus Iarbas
Ductoresque alii, quos Africa terra triumphis
Dives alit.

50. V(40). favors the plural: Hinc Gaetula *urbes*.

54. *Of Scythe* (H.) results from misconstruing *siti* as a proper noun in the genitive case in the phrase (V. 42), Hinc deserta *siti* regio. D. and T. correct the error. Dg(177.4). reads: Ay full of *thirst*.

58. Cf. V(45).: Dis equidem auspiciis reor. *Sufferance* hardly does justice to the Latin. *Purveiance* is borrowed from Dg(177.7-8)., and was doubtless the reading in the original ms.:

Be dispositioun of goddis, I wene, non vther,
And by the purviance of Juno.

72. The reading of D. and T. is due to misunderstanding *bidentis* in the line (V.57), Mactant lectas de more *bidentes*. The translation was probably influenced by Lb(89-90).:

Secondo lo costume d'anni due
Occidono le lor pecore elette.

I am inclined to think that D. and T. here give the original version.

79. *Fatte* (T.), not *tall* (H.), is the correct translation. The Latin (62) reads: pingues spatiat ad aras. Cf. Dg(178.21).:

Or pas tofore the Altaris, with fatt offerandis.

T. 82-83, H. 82-84. T. is closer to the Latin (65-66):

Heu vatum ignarae mentes! quid vota furentem,
Quid delubra iuvant?

H. was influenced by the wordy translation of Dg(179.3).:

O walaway! of spamen and duinis
The blind myndis, quihikis na way diffynis
The force nor strenth of luif with his hard bandis!
Quhat awalit thir sacrificse or offerandis?

T.88, H.89. D., ignoring the Latin, reads *yshotte* for *in Crete*.

T. 113, H. 114. *Threatening* and *stretching* translate *aequata* (V. 89).

T. 115, H. 116. The Latin (91) reads, nec famam obstare furori. The original line was influenced by Dg., and T. gives this earlier version. Dg(180.23). reads:

Nether fame nor honour the rage resist mycht.

T. 126, H. 127. Cf. the Latin (101):

Ardet amans Dido traxitque per ossa furem.

Dg(181.17). supports T.:

For Dido birnis in halt luif all at anis.

T. 127, H. 128. The Latin (102) favors T.:

Communem hunc ergo populum paribusque regamus
Auspiciis.

The unrevised reading of H. was probably a scribe's error. Dg(181.19-20). reads:

Lat ws thir peple to ws common, forthy,
By freyndlie favoris govern equaly.

T. 133, H. 134. *Thempire* as in D. and T., the Latin (106) reading *regnum*.

T. 135, H. 136. *Strive* as in D. and T., is the better translation; the Latin (108) reads *Contendere bello*. Cf. Dg(181.30-31).:

or zit with the had lever

Contend in batale.

T. 137-129, H. 138-140. Cf. V(110-111).:

Sed fatis incerta feror si Iuppiter unam
Esse velit Tyriis urbem Troiaque profectis.

T. 152-155, H. 153-156. The Latin (120-122) reads:

His ego nigrantem commixta grandine nimbum, !
Dum trepidant alae saltusque indagine cingunt,
Desuper infundam, et tonitru caelum omne clebo.

As D. quotes the Latin in lieu of translating *Dum trepidant alae*, and as H. leaves it untranslated, the presumption is that Surrey did not understand the meaning of *alae* and left the passage for further consideration. T. leaves one in uncertainty as to what is meant by *the wings of youth*. If the meaning is the bands of young men who spread out to scare the game, the translation is free but approximates the meaning, as *alae* means either the red feathers used to scare the game or the huntsmen (*alatores*) employed in the service. Lb(192-194). translates:

Mentre de cacciatori l'ali sparse
Segon le fere, & con astutie pronte
Cingono selue d'ogni parte, & ualli.

Pl(143-144). reads:

Mentre le torme uanno infretta, e i boschi
Cingon cercando le seluagge fere.

H. follows Dg(182.20). in employing *range* as a noun:

Quhen that the rangis and the fald on breid
Dynnys throw the gravis, sersing the woddis wyde
And setis sett the glen on every side.

D. reads *ranger*; as this results in an amphibrach, it is presumably a revised reading. T. 153 is obviously revised by one who disregarded or misunderstood the Latin and did not heed the translation in D.

T. 161, H. 162. H. is the closer translation (V. 127): *Hic hymenaeus erit.*

T. 165, H. 166. D. and T. give the distinctly weaker and less poetical reading

T. 166, H. 167. T. is correct in interpreting *portis* as an ablative in the line (V. 130),

It portis iurare exorto delecta iuventus.

H. leans upon Dg(183.8-9).:

fast to the ettis ;thringis
The chois galandis.

T. 169, H. 170. Is the translation influenced by Lb(215).:

Et d' usta buona gran copia de cani?

The Latin (132) merely says: *odora canum vis.*

T. 171, H. 172. H. and D. follow Dg(183.15). in the choice of the verb: the quene *awatis.*

T. 174, H. 175. T. is closer to the Latin (136): *magna stipante caterva.*

T. 177, H. 178. D. reads *wound up in*, a less happy phrase.

T. 184, H. 185. *Viset*, as in D. and T., is the closer translation (V.144): *ac Delum maternam inuisit.*

T. 186, H. 187. Cf. V(146).: *Cretesque Dryopesque.*

T. 196-198, H. 197-199. T. follows D. in mistaking *rooes* for a verb, and revised on that assumption. V(152). reads:

Postquam altos ventum in montes atque inuia lustra,
Ecce ferae, saxi delectae vertice, caprae
Decurrere iugis.

T. 208, H. 209. H. translates more closely than T. and D. The Latin (162) reads:

Et Tyrii comites passim et Troiana iuventus.

T. 209, H. 210. *Cottages* rather than *cottage*. Cf. V(163-164).: *diversa per agros Tecta metu petiere.*

T. 211-212, H. 212-213. T. follows V(165).:

Speluncam Dido dux et Troianus eandem
Deveniunt.

H. follows Dg(185.22-23).:

Within a cave is enterit Dido queyn,
And eik the Troiane duke, all thaim allane.

T. 226, H. 227. D. reads *on hye*, a less effective phrase.

T. 230. Note that D. and T. here build out an original short line.

T. 232, H. 233. Cf. V(181)., *monstrum horrendum*.

T. 233-236, H. 234-237. H. and D. give the more literal translation (V. 181-183):

cui quot sunt corpore plumae
Tot vigiles oculi subter, mirabile dictu,
Tot linguae, totidem ora sonant, tot subrigit aures,

This version is also closer to Dg(186.22-23).:

Hw mony fedderis bene on his body fynd,
Als mony walkrife ene lurkis ther ondir.

T. follows D. in the transposition of lines.

H. 247. This line is omitted in H., but probably through scribal error, as it is found in D.

T. 249-251, H. 250-251. There are no lines in H. and D corresponding to T. 250-251.

Surrey probably left the passage for further consideration. T. furnishes a characteristically loose translation of the Latin (193-194):

Nunc hiemem inter se luxu, quam longa, fovere
Regnorum immemores turpique cupidine captos.

T. 252, H. 252. The present tense is correct; cf. V(195).: *diffundit*.

T. 254, H. 254. Here also the present tense is correct; cf. V(197).:

Incenditque animum dictis atque aggerat iras.

T. 256, H. 256. Cf. V(198).:

Hic Hammone satus rapta Garamantide nympha.

Cf. also Dg(187.30).:

Apon the maid revist Garamantida.

T. 257-259, H. 257-258. T. expands the translation, in order to accomodate the Latin (199-200):

Templa Iovi centum latis inmania regnis,
Centum aras posuit, vigilemque sacraverat ignem.

H. and D. were clearly influenced by Dg(187.31-34).:

Within his large realmis huge and braid
Ane hundreth templis to Jupiter he maid,
Ane hundreth altaris, quharin the walkrife fire
He dedicate.

D. is actually closer to Dg., for it reads,

An hundred temples in his large realme he built.

T. 262, H. 261. *Thresholdes* not *threshold*; cf. V(202)., *limina*.

T. 268, H. 267. *Feare*, as in D. and T. translates the Latin (208-209) correctly:

Aspicias haec, an te, Genitor, cum fulmina torques,
Nequiquam horremus.

T. 279, H. 278. H. gives the better translation in *hallowe*; cf. the Latin (218): *famamque fovemus inanem*. H. adopted the word from Dg(189.1).: and in vane *hallowis* the name. T. follows D.

T. 282, H. 281. D. reads:

And with his loke gan thwart the royal walls.

This may be the earliest reading. The Latin (220) is as follows: *oculosque ad moenia torsit Regia*.

T. 287, H. 286. *Rechlesse* is clearly the reading to be preferred, as the Latin (225) shows: *fatisque datas non respicit urbes*.

T. 292-293. T. inserts "such as one As mete might seme" to accomodate the Latin *fore* (229) in the following:

Sed fore qui gravidam imperiis belloque frementem
Italiam regeret.

T. 294, H. 292. In translating *belloque frementem* (V. 229) as *Dreddfull in armes*, Surrey may possibly have been influenced by Pl (299)., who translates, *Fra gran strepito d'armi*.

T. 295, H. 293. Neither *Shewing in profe* nor *Discovering* is an adequate translation of the Latin (231) *Proderet*.

T. 299-300, H. 297-298. H. fails to observe the force of the dative in the original (234), *Ascanione pater Romanas invidet arcas*. D. gives a correct but crude rendition, "To young *Ascanus*, that is his father", which may be the original reading. T. translates correctly and felicitously. Dg(189-190). understands the Latin, but translates freely:

Sit than the fadir aucht na wise to invy
That Ascanius bruke Romis senjeory.

T. 320, H. 317. D. reads *sholders*, a poor substitution.

T. 324, H. 321. D. reads *frosted beard*, a less fortunate phrase.

H. 327. Is *swymming* a scribe's error?

T. 330, H. 328. H. is correct in reading *sandes*; cf. V(257):

Litus harenosum ad Libyae, ventosque secabat.

D. reads "*Rushing betwixt.... sandes*."

T. 337-339, H. 335-336. V(262-264). reads:

Tyrioque ardebat murice laena
Demissa ex umeris, dives quae munera Dido
Fecerat et tenui telas discreverat auro.

H. is influenced in phrasing by Dg(191.18):

Of mychty Didois gift wrocht all his wedis.

but does not embody the idea that Dido *made* the garments. T. incorporates this idea and translates *Tyrio ardebat murice* with a flourish. D. follows H.

T. 341-344, H. 338-341. T., following D., corrects the grammatical looseness and gives the more graceful and spirited translation, but H. closely follows the Latin order (265-267):

tu nunc Kathaginis altae
Fundamenta locas pulcharamque uxoris urbem
Exstruis? heu regni rerumque oblite tuarum!

T. 349, H. 346. The Latin (271) reads, *Quid struis*. T. agrees with Dg(191.28). in reading *what*; H. and D. with Dg. in reading *builæst*: *Quhat buildis* thou heir in Liby or Cartage. Probably the original version read *what buildest thou*.

T. 352, H. 349. The Latin (273) favors H.:

Nec super ipse tua moliris laude laborem.

T. Follows D.

T. 362, H. 359. *Flight* not *night* as in T. and D. Cf. V(281): *Ardet abire fuga*. Cf. also Dg(192.13): *Sair he langis to fle* and to depart.

T. 375-376, H. 372-373. Cf. V(290):

Arma parent, et, quae rebus sit causa novandis.

T. 377, H. 375. D. and T. translate the adjective *optima* (291). H., in common with Pl., omits it.

T. 384, H. 381. The Latin (297) favors the past tense: *motusque excepit* prima futuros. Dg(193.19)., however, uses the present: *Thar departing at hand first sche espyis*.

T. 386-387, H. 383-384. Cf. the Latin (298-299):

Eadem impia Fama furenti
Detulit armari classem cursumque parari.

T. 390-394, H. 387-391. D. quotes the Latin in lieu of translation. As the passage is a peculiarly difficult one to translate into equally concise English, D. probably represents an original lacuna in Surrey's text. The *and* in T. 391 is obviously interpolated to correct the accents, but the last verse is better in D. than in T. The faulty syntax in T. and the repetition of phrasing is further evidence that the passage occasioned more or less experimental translation.

T. 396-397, H. 394-395. T. is closer to the Latin (305-306):

Dissimulare etiam sperasti, perfide tantum
Posse nefas tacitusque mea decedere terra?

Note that T. secures a run-on line.

T. 408-412, H. 405-409. V(317-320). favors the sequence of ideas in D. and T.:

Si bene quid de te merui, fuit aut tibi quicquam
Dulce meum, miserere domus labentis et istam,
Oro, siquis adhuc precibus locus, exue mentem.

H., however, renders more literally the clause, *siquis adhuc precibus locus*. Dg(194.25-29). also observes the Latin order:

Gif euer ony thank I deseruit towart the,
Or ocht of myne to the was leif, quod sche,
Half mercy of our lynnage redde to spill;
Gyf tyme remains jit thow heir prayeris will,
This fremmit mynd, I pray jow, do away.

D. 413-414. D. offers the following garbled reading:

The Libians and Tirlans, tyrans of Nomodane,
For thee me hate; my Tirlans eke are wroth.

T. 414. Note the change to a run-on line.

H. 421. Influenced by Dg(195.16): Had I ane child consavit.

T. 431. In seeking to avoid the archaic *gan*, D. and T. stumble into an internal rhyme.

T. is based on D., which reads, These wordes yet at last then forth he cast.

T. 436, H. 433. *Limes* is correct; cf. V(336): *dum spiritus hos regit artus*. Did the transcriber of H. misread an original *limes* as *lines*, and then substitute *wordes* as more in keeping with the context?

T. 437, H. 434. Neither version quite catches the meaning of the Latin (337): *Pro re pauca loquar*.

T. 443, H. 440. *Permitted* may show the influence of Lb(552): *S'i fati permetterser*.

T. 445-446, H. 442-443. This passage is rather clearly indebted to Lb(555-557):

Primeramente la città trolana,
Et de li miei le reliquie dolci
Ristorerel.

V(342-343). reads:

Urbem Troianam primum dulcesque meorum
Reliquias colerem.

H. 454. Imelmann suggests, with some likelihood, the influence of Pl(466-467):

^{e à noi}
Lecito è ricercar gli strani regni.

V(350). reads: Et nos fas extera quaerere regna.

T. 480, H. 477. The Latin (367) justifies the plural in *tigres*.

T. 483, H. 480. The Latin (369) favors D. and T.: *Num fletu ingemuit nostro?*

T. 487, H. 484. V(373). reads: *nusquam tuta fides*. The English is influenced by Dg(198.17): For noquhare now faith nor lawte is found. Imelmann suggests the influence of Pl(502-503). as well:

Alcuna sicurtade al mondo
La fe non trova.

Lb(603). reads: In nessim loco sicura è la fede.

T. 517, H. 514. V(392). merely says: *stratisque reponunt*. Lb(637). reads: Et ripongola tra letti honorati, and Pl(562)., al riccho letto.

T. 525, H. 523. T. gives the more colorful translation of *celsas* (397) in *high rigged*.

T. 533, H. 530. Lb(659-660). seems to have influenced this translation:

Parte per trascinar i maggior grani
Di formento con spalle appunta.

V(405-406). reads:

^{pars grandia trudunt}
Obnixae frumenta umeris.

T. 537, H. 534. Cf. Lb(665): Da torr' eccelsa.

T. 557-559, H. 554-556. The influence of Lb(690-694). is obvious:

Digli, ch' io non unque congiurai
Con greci in porto Aulide à la ruina
De la trolana gente, ne mi' armata
Contra le mura mal di Troia misi.

T. 567, H. 573. V(436). reads: *cumulatam morte remittam*. Imelmann suggests the indebtedness of H. to Pl(597-598):

^{io morendo}
Poi te ne renderò larga mercede.

T. 584. D. gives the following awkward reading:

Blowing now from this, now from that quarter ,blow.

T. 589, H. 586. D. and T. observe the Latin gender of *quercus*. D(203.2)., however, employs the masculine.

H. 590. Cf. Dg(207.6):

That all for nocht the teris war furth yet.

T. 637, H. 605. V(460). reads: *Hinc exaudiri voces*. Dg(204.8). reads *Quharin*.

T. 610, H. 608. T. is both more literal and more poetical; cf. V(462-463):

Solaque culminibus ferali carmine bubo
Saepe queri et longas in fletum ducere voces.

T. 625, H. 623. *Sitting* is correct; cf. V(473): *ultricesque sedent in limine Dirae*, and Dg(204.32): *Sittand* in the temple port to wreik hir deid.

T. 635, H. 632. D. reads:

Toward the ende of the great Octian.

The adjective does not occur in V(480): *Oceani finem iuxta*.

T. 636, H. 633. The Latin (480) merely says: *solemque cadentem*. H. and D. follow Dg(205.15): *Thar as the son declynis and gois down*.

T. 640-644, H. 637-641. V(483-486). reads:

Hinc mihi Massylae gentis monstrata sacerdos,
Hesperidum templi custos epulasque draconi
Quae dabat et sacros servabat in arbore ramos.

T. translates the passage loosely and amplifies the thought. H. gives a compressed and, if the ms. reading of vs. 640—the *garden*—be kept, an incorrect translation. Imelmann substitutes *warden*, and attributes the word to Dg(205.23): And *wardane* of the riall temple, thai say. I think it much more likely, however, that the original reading was *garder* (cf. O. F. *garder*) or *gardian*, misread by some early copyist. *Gardian* is supported by Liburnio, and that Surrey had his eye upon the Italian translation is rather clear from the subsequent lines, in which, like Liburnio, he violates the Latin in making the dragon the preserver of the sacred fruit (788-792):

guardiana
Del tempio de l'Hesperidi, qual daua
Pasto al dragone conseruante i rami
Sacri ne l'arbor, humido spargendo
Mel, & papauer che sogno produce.

H. also violates the Latin in ascribing the honey and the poppy to the holy fruit, a mistake that may have resulted from misunderstanding the construction of *spargendo* in the above.

The Scotch translation reads:

And to the walkryf dragon meit gaf sahe,
That kept the goldyn apillis in the tre,
Strynkland to hym the wak hony sweit,
And sleipryfe chesbow seid, to quickin his spreit.

Garden was probably the reading in a ms. which T. revised, and this would seem to explain why the word remains imbedded in T., though the translation has been sufficiently amplified to accomodate *custos*.

T. 653, H. 649. *Hills*, not *hill* as in T. and D. V(491). reads: *et descendere montibus ornos*.

T. 656, H. 652. *Artes* as in T. and D., the Latin (493) reading: *magicas artes*.

T. 670, H. 666. *Thinges*, not *thing* as in T. and D. V(502). reads *aut graviora timet*.

T. 672-673. Note that T. here corrects the metrical irregularities in H.

T. 684-686, H. 680-682. V(510-511). reads:

Erebumque Chaosque
Tergeminamque Hecaten, tria virginis ora Dianae.

Figures was suggested by Dg(207.21): The thre *figuris* of the virgin Dynae. *Greislie* was also suggested by Dg. Note that D. like T. reads *faces*.

T. 692-693. Note the amplification in T. and D. to correct the faulty scansion in H.

T. 694, H. 690. *Mole*, as in D. and T., rather than *milk*; cf. L.(517). *mola*.

H. 696. Influenced by Dg(208.7): Or persavis luifaris inequihale of behest.

T. 702, H. 698. D., followed by T., keeps closer than H. to the Latin (522) syntax:

Nox erat, et....

T. 707, H. 703. Dg(208.16). reads: And quhatsumevir in the braid *lochis weir*.

T. 716, H. 712. The Latin (533), *sic...ita*, favors H. rather than D. and T.

T. 728-729, H. 724-725. The Latin (541-542) reads:

Nescis heu, perditā necdum,
Laomedontēae sentis periuria gentis?

H. translates *sentis* very literally: T., to avoid the vulgarity and to reduce the Alexandrine to a hexameter, omits the word, but does translate *necdum*.

T. 739, H. 735. V(549). reads: atque *obicit* hosti.

T. 750, H. 746. *Hue*, as in D. and T., not *here*; cf. V(558): *vocemque coloremque*.

H. 755. Cf. Dg(211.9): All the cost belive of flambis *scald*.

H. 770. Cf. Dg(211.29): *scherand* swerd. V(580), reads: *Fulmineum*.

H. 773. Cf. Dg(211.32): Thai hurll away, ankeris wphint and raif.

T. 775, H. 771. *Cables*, as in D. and T.; cf. Latin (580) *retinacula*.

T. 779, H. 776. *Blew*, as in D. and T.; cf. Latin (583) *caerula*.

T. 778, H. 774. *Shores*, as in D. and T.; Latin (582) *Litora*.

H. 778. Cf. Dg(212.8): the...greking of the day. V(586-587). reads:

Regina e speculis ut primum albescere lucem
vidit.

T. 792, H. 788. D. and T. both read *set sayle*, a much less poetical phrase.

T. 810, H. 807. Cf. V(606): memet super ipsa dedissem. Dg(213.25). reads: And thaim abufe syne deid myself had laid.

T. 827, H. 823. The Latin (616) reads: complexu avulsus Iuli.

T. 832, H. 828. Dg(214.23). reads: And ly *vnerdit* amyddis of the sandis.

T. 833, H. 829. Cf. V(621): Haec precor, hanc vocem extremam cum sanguine *fundo*.

T. 843. As this verse is lacking in both H. and D., it was probably added by T. to remedy what seemed to be undue compression in the translation. The Latin (627-629) reads:

Litora litoribus contraria, fluctibus undas
Imprecor, arma armis; pungent ipsique nepotesque.

D. 846. Without any warrant, D. reads:

To Sichees nurse then briefly thus she said.

H. 853. *For An* was probably a scribe's misreading or misunderstanding of *forth on*. The Latin (640) reads:

Sic ait. Illa gradum studio celerabat anlli.

The original line was obviously influenced by Dg(215.29-30):

Thus said Dido; and the tother, with that,
Hichit on furth with slow pace lyke ane trat.

T. 868, H. 863. *Weedes*, rather than weed; cf. V(648): Iliacas *vestes*... T. follows D.

H. 866. Cf. Lb(1057-1058):

O dolci spoglie, mentre i fati & Dido
Permetteuan.

T. 873, H. 869. D. and T. remedy the Alexandrine in H.

T. 880-881, H. 875-876. Imelmann proposes the influence of Pl(931-932):

Ma pur moriamo, dice, in questa in questa
Guisa mi giova andar ne l'ombre oscure.

The same adjective, however, occurs in Lb(1073-1074):

così m'aggrata
Con questo colpo andar à l'ombre scure.

V(659-660). reads:

Dixit, et os impressa toro, "morlemur inultae,
Sed moriamur" ait. "Sic, sic iuvat ire sub umbras."

T. 884, H. 879. Cf. Lb(1075-1076):

& porte seco
Gli auguri infausti de la nostra morte.

V(662). merely says: et nostrae secum ferat omnia mortis.

T. 982. Note that D. and T. build out the line.

T. 893, H. 888. V(669-670). favors D. and T.: Exstinxti te meque, soror.

T. 919, H. 914. D., not sensitive to the music of a verse, reads: Deepe under her breast.

T. 939, H. 934. V(702-705). favors D. and T.:

"hunc ego Diti
Sacrum iussa fero, teque isto corpore solvo."
Sic ait et dextra crinem secat: omnia et una
Dilapsus calor, atque in ventos vita recessit.

H. may be following P1(1001-1003). in neglecting to mention the idea of command:

Io questo
Sacrato a Pluton mando, e te da questo
Corpo disciolgo.

T. 932, H. 937. Dg(219.29). is responsible for the reading of H.:

And thair with all the naturall heit out quent.

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Additional 17492 (D.) The so-called *Duke of Devonshire Ms.* which contains Wyatt's original version of many of his poems, and additional poems by other writers of the time of Henry VIII. Only one poem by Surrey, No. 21, is represented, though the manuscript was probably in his possession as a youth. The manuscript is fully described, and its romantic history conjecturally worked out, by Miss A. K. Foxwell, *A Study of Sir Thomas Wyatt's Poems*.

Egerton 2711 (E.) Contains the revised autograph poems of Wyatt. One of Surrey's poems, No. 39, is included. Miss Foxwell has discussed the manuscript in the work cited above, and published the poems of Wyatt in *The Poems of Sir Thomas Wyatt*. Cf. Flügel's earlier edition in *Anglia*, 17-18.

Additional 36529 (P.) Ms. of the late sixteenth century, containing poems apparently collected by Sir John Harrington of Kelston (d. 1612). Among these poems are twenty-eight by Surrey and nine by Wyatt. Much more authentic than Tottel. Thus, to give only one illustration, the ms. version of the poem, "I neuer saw youe, madam, laye aparte", follows the Italian original (see p. 17), whereas Tottel's version (see p. 47) departs radically from it and appears to be a revision by an editor, who did not even know the source of the poem. Full catalogue description and comparative study of the manuscript may be found in *The Manuscript Poems.... of Surrey, Anglia* 29.

Additional 28635 (A.) Professes to be exact copy of the so-called *Harrington Ms. No. 2*, used by Nott. Contains eighteen of Surrey's poems, in addition to many by Wyatt and others. Written, in part at least, after 1553, as a line in one of Wyatt's satires was revised to avoid giving offence to Mary. Though offering some emendations, it is doubtless close to the autograph versions of Surrey's poems. In general it agrees with P. as opposed to Tottel. Discussed in detail by Miss Foxwell.

Additional 28636. Transcription of E.

Hill (H.) Ms. owned, in early part of last century, by Thomas Hill of London. Used by John Nott and G. F. Nott; and the former has noted its variants from Tottel's versions in a fragmentary volume of his edition now in British Museum. Contains three of Surrey's poems.

Harleian 78 (Harl.) Late sixteenth century miscellany, containing, among other papers, seven of Wyatt's poems, and two of Surrey's (Nos. 20, 21, and 42), and three stanzas of a third (No. 21). Comparison with the Wyatt autograph mss. proves it to be trustworthy.

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GLOSSARY

A

- ACCOLL, v., *to embrace, clasp*. Cf. Fr. *accoler*. 57.1054.
 ACCOMPT, n., *account*. 31.46
 ADDRESS (E), v., *prepare, make ready*. 58 T. 375, H. 372.
 ADVERTISEMENT, n., *warning*. 39.4.
 AFRAIES, v., *alarms, terrifies*. 58. T. 241.
 AME, n., *aim, design*. 22.8.
 APEACE, v., *appease*. 14.8.
 APPAIRE, APPEIR, v., *to become impaired*. 55.16, 57.217.
 APT, adj., *prone*. 7.3.
 ARKE, n., *chest, coffer*. 38.3.
 ASSWAGE, v., *diminish, fade*. 43.20.
 ATGAAS, at gaze. 11.44.
 ATTAINT, v., *lay hold of, infect*. 24.8.
 AUANCE, v., *advance, assist*. 16.9
 AVAUNT, v., *boast*. 58. T. 646, H. 643.

B

- BAIN(E), BAYNE(D), v., *bathe(d)*. Cf. Fr. *baigner*. 58.38.
 BANE, *death*. Cf. Chaucer, *Troilus* 602: "For which the folk of Thebes caught
 hir bane." 13.16.
 BAYNE, cf. BAIN(E).
 BAYTE, v., *bait, allure*. 31.16.
 BEHIGHT, n., *promise*; from verb *behight*. 56.60.
 BEHIGHT, pf. pple., *promised*. 57.43; 58.290.
 BERAINE, v., *wet, bedew*. Rare; imit. fr. Chaucer, *Troilus* 4.1144: "After that
 he long had . . . with his teris salt hire breest byreyned." 31.42.
 BESPRENT, ppl. adj., *sprinkled*. Cf. obs. *besprengan* (*be-sprengan*). 58. T. 887.
 BESTRAIGHT, BESTRAUGHT, ppl. adj., *distraught, distracted*. 58. T. 360. H. 357;
 T. 753, H. 749.
 BETT, adj., *better*. Freq. in Mid. E. 52.15.
 BEWRAYE, v., *reveal, expose*. 15.11.
 BLIUE, adv., *quickly*. Cf. *belive*. 57.293.
 BODE, v., *portend, betoken*. 34.64.
 BOLNE, pf. pple., *swollen*. Cf. N. E. D. *bollen*. 57. 346, 609.
 BOOKS, n., *bulks, bodies*. Cf. *Hamlet* 2.1: "It did seem to shatter all his bulk."
 52. 42.
 BOORDE, cf. BOURD.
 BOORDES, BORDETH, BOURDES, v., *accosts, addresses*. Cf. N. E. D. *board*. 58. T.
 395, H. 392.
 BOURD, BOORDE, v., *to mock, (?) to deceive*. 58. T. 900, H. 895.

BOWLNE, cf. BOLNE.

BOYSTEOW'S, adj., *boisterous, rough*. 13. 9; 58. T. 582.

BRAKE, n., *thicket of bushes*. 2. 7.

BRAYDE, v., *to cry out*. 58. T. 476, H. 473.

BRENT, v., *burned*. 57. 403.

BREW(T)E, cf. BRUIT.

BRITTLE, adj., *fickle*. 17. 18.

BRUIT(E), BREW(T)E), BRUTE, n., *bruit, fame, renown, tidings, din, clamor*. 15. 15; 48. 23; 49. 81; *et freq.*

BUCKELED, ppl. adj., *united, i. e. buckled together*. 54. 4.

BURDES, cf. BOORDES.

C

CALLYNG, n., *summons to right conduct*. 39.3.

CAREFULL, adj., *full of grief, sorrowful*. 11. 50.

CARRIBES, prop. n., *Charybdis*. 20. 11.

CENDELING, ppl. adj., *kindling*. 57.936.

CENSE, n., *incense*. 58. T. 598, H. 595.

CHAMBARE, prop. n., *Cambria*. 29.4.

CHAPPS, n., *jaws*. First met in 16th century. 43.17.

CHARGED, ppl. adj., *burdened*. 56. 43.

CHASE, v., *chose*; obs. pt. of *choose*. 47. 5.

CHAUNG, n., *change*. 31. 38.

CHAUNGE, cf. CHOPP.

CHOPP, v., "to chop and change, an alliterative phrase in which, as the force of the word *chop* has become indistinct, the meaning has passed from that of *to barter* to that of *to change*": N. E. D. 43.12.

CHRISTALL, adj., *crystal*. 14. 13.

CHUSE, v., *choose*. 34. 1.

CLAMBE, CLAME, v., *climbed*. 58. T. 417, H. 414.

CLEPES, n., *shouts*. 57. 1021.

CLIUES, CLIVES, n., *cliffs*. 20. 11, 42. 11.

CLOSURES, n., *enclosures*. 32. 47.

COLDE, v. pt., *could*. 32. 8

COMPTE, n., *reckoning*; obs. form of *count*. 49. 31.

CONIURES, n., *conspiracies*; obs. and rare. 51. 41.

CONTYNVANCE, n., *longstanding*. 41. 8.

CONVART, v., *convert, reverse*. 33.41.

CORNET, n., "*part of a headdress, consisting of lappets of lace, or the like, hanging down the sides of the cheeks*": N. E. D. 3. 12.

COUNTY, n., *count*. 47. 2.

COWARDIE, COWARDRY, n., *cowardice; coward-ry*. 58.18.

CRUELNES, n., *cruelty*. 11. 4.

CURE, n., *care*. Cf. L. *cura*. 57. 788.

CURRANT, adj., *servile*. Cf. N. E. D. *accurant*. 34.56.

D

- DEGREES, n., *steps*. 58. T. 913, H. 908.
 DERE, n., *injury, harm*. Cf. O. E. *daru*. 57.936.
 DESCRIBE, v., *see, behold*. 58. T. 232.
 DESERTES, n., *merits*. 33. 6.
 DISPOYLED, pf. pple., *stripped of clothes, disrobed*. 31. 13.
 DISTRAIN, v., *oppress, afflict*. 13. 2.
 DOMES, n., *judgments*. 8. 6.
 DOUT, n., *doubt*. 21. 41.
 DOWTHT, v., *doth*. 21. 41.
 DRADFULL, adj., *dreadful*. 32. 26.

E

- EASYE, in EASYE SPARKES, adj., *easily kindled*. 22. 7.
 EFTSITHES, adv., *often, from time to time*. 57.588.
 EYEN, EYEN, n., *eyes*. 57.906; 58. T. 692, H. 688. *et freq.*
 EMBRUDE, EMBRUED, v., *defiled*. 57. 214; 58. 261, T. 287, 886.
 EMPRESSED, ppl. adj., *oppressed*. 23.41.
 ENDLONG, prep., *along*. 58. T. 328, H. 326.
 ENDURED, ppl. adj., *hardened, indurated*. Rare. 32.50; 55.25.
 ENSEW, v., *ensue*. 10. 3.
 ENTERPRISE, n., *judgment in an undertaking*. 17. 10.

F

- FAAS, n., *face*. 10. 2.
 FABLE, n., *falsehood*. 11. 3.
 FALNE, pf. pple., *fallen*. 42. 10.
 FARE, n., *lot, condition*. 13. 30.
 FAYNE, adv., *fain, gladly*. 34. 42.
 FERE, FEER, FEERE, n., *companion*, 23. 23; 31. 46; *et freq.*
 FERSE, n., *queen*. Cf. O. Fr. *fierce*, from Persian. 12. 12.
 FET, pf. pple., *arrived at*. Nautical; cf. N. E. D. *fetch*. 57. 35.
 FINE, n., *end*. 57. 72.
 FONDED, FOWNDED, ppl. adj., *deluded, foolish*; from *fond*, to play the fool. 58. T. 489. H. 487.
 FOURDE, n., *ford*. 22. 9.
 FRAYES, cf. AFRAIES, 58. H. 242.
 FRINDLIE, adj., *friendly*. 34. 2.
 FRIOWR, n., *friar*. 54. 42.
 FROMWARD, adv., *in an opposite direction*. Cf. *to-ward*. 54. 1.

G

- GAME, n., *amusement, entertainment, jest*. 34.75; 15.10.
 GATE, v., *gain, reach*. 57.264.
 GEARE, n., *foul matter, pus*. Cf. *Faerie Queene*, 6. 12: "That spat out poyson and gore-bloudy gere." 58. H. 599.
 GESTES, n., *notable deeds*. 38. 4.
 GIN, n., *trap, engine*. 57. 298.
 GLEDDES, n., *coals, embers*, Cf. *glow*. 57.821; 58. T. 214.
 GLIMSING, pr. pple., *glancing*. 16. 5.
 GLYNS, n., *glimpse*. Cf. Mid. E. *glimsen*. 22. 46.
 GOSTLY, adj., *spiritual*, as opposed to *fleshly*. 29.8.
 GREISLIE, GRISELY, adj., *frightful*. 58. T. 597. H. 594.
 GRESLY, adj., *grizzly, ancient*. 50. 39.
 GUYSE, n., *practice*. 50. 11.

H

- HAAT, n., *hate*. 11. 30.
 HABLE, v., *able*. 11. 11.
 HALSETH, v., *embraces*. 42. 5.
 HAP, n., *bad luck, mishap*. Sometimes means *good luck*. 20. 13.
 HAULTURE, n., *height, altitude*. Cf. It. *altura*. 54. 29.
 HARTYE, adj., *coming from the heart*. 22. 37.
 HAYE(s), n., *net used for catching animals*. See N. E. D. for origin. 58. T. 166, H. 167.
 HEALTH, HELTHE, n., *safety*. 22. 50; 33. 10.
 HIGHT, pf. pple., *called, named*. 47. 2.
 HOGRELES, n., *young sheep of the second year*. Dim. of *hog*; cf. *cock-erel*. 58. T. 72.
 HOLTES, n., *woods*. 58. T. 195, H. 196.
 HOORREY, adj., *hoary*. 48. 13.
 HOVE, v., *linger, tarrey*. Cf. *Colin Clout* 666: "The which in court continually *hooved*." 31. 6.
 HYER, adv., *higher*. 32. 33.

I

- IMBRUED, Cf. EMBRUDE.
 IMPREST, pf. pple., *stamped*. 5. 8.
 INFLAME, *inflammation*. 11. 10.
 IOILY, adj., *jolly*. 30. 7.
 IRKED, ppl. adj., *exhausted*. 57. 742.

L

- LAIED, ppl. adj., *placed under, impressed, subjected*. Tr. L. *subjectaque colla*. Cf. *laid* in such uses as *laid paper*. 57. 954.
- LEARNETH, v., *teaches*. Cf. *Romeo and Juliet*. 3. 2. 12: "and *learn* me how to lose a winning match." 15. 25.
- LEMANS, n., *mistresses*. Cf. Mid. E. *leofmon*. 49.23.
- LESE, v., *lose*. 17. 43; 22. 42.
- LET, pf. pple., *hindered*. 15. 6.
- LIST, n., *desire, intention*. Cf. *Othello*. 2. 1. 105: "when I have *list* to sleep." O. E. *lust*. 14. 20.
- LOFTYE, adj., *heaven-inspired*. 32. 29.
- LOKE, n., *look*. 22. 48.
- LOPEN, pf. pple, in WERE LOPEN=*had leaped, thrown themselves*. Cf. *St. Pap. Henry VIII* 4.493: "The friendes of the said traitor are *loppen* (run) to hym into Scotlaunde." 57. 741.
- LUCKED, v. pt., *turned out*. From obs. v. *luck*. 57. 494.
- LUSTYNESS, n., *beauty of attire*. A derived meaning that disappeared in the 16th century. 11. 2.
- LYFSOME, adj., *liefesome, pleasing*. Cf. N. E. D. *leesome*. 33. 23.

M

- MAKE, n., *mate, companion, husband or wife*. 2. 4; 34. 7; 57. 751.
- MARIE, MARY, n., *marrow*. 58. T. 84, H. 85.
- MEANE, adj., *moderate*. 41. 9.
- MINGE, v., *mingle*. Cf. N. E. D. *ming, mingle*. 2. 11.
- MOLE, n., *a sacrificial cake made of grains of spelt coarsely ground and mixed with salt*. Cf. L. *mola*. 58. T. 694.
- MUTTRELL, prop n., *Montreuil*. 47.9.

N

- NECK, n., *a move to cover check*. 12. 3.
- NER, adv., *nearer*. 14. 3.
- NIGGISHE, adj., *niggardly, stingy*. 52. 58.
- NONE, in MY NONE, *my own*. 14.29.
- NOTES, NOTETH, v., *denotes, characterizes*. 58. 18.

O

- OR, adv., *ere*. 15. 16; 22. 14.
- OTHER, subst., *others*. 44. 2.
- QUERTHWARTES, n., *adversities, rebuffs*. 42. 12.
- OVERLAID, ppl. adj., in *overlaid with number*=*crushed by numbers*. 57. 542.

P

PALE, n., *stake*. 2. 6.

PALME PLAYE, n., *an old game resembling hand-ball*. Cf. Strutt, *Sports and Pastimes* 2. 3, 85. 31. 13.

PASSED, v. pt., *cared*; usually w. neg. 17. 3.

PATCHING, adj., *knavish, acting like a "patch."* 54. 46.

PAYNE, n., *pains, careful effort*. The plural in this sense was just coming into use in Surrey's time. 34. 20.

PAYNT, v., *color with a view to deception*. 15. 26.

PEASON, n., *peas*. Cf. PESE. Cf. N. E. D. 7.6.

PEOBLE, adj., *pebble*. 32. 25.

PERCELL, n., *portion*. 11. 51.

PERE, confused w. *pear*, aphetic form of *appear*. Cf. N. E. D. *pear, peer*. 11. 33.

PERSY, prop. n., *Persia*. 39. 1.

PESE, n., *pea*. Cf. PEASON.— 17.11.

PHERES, Cf. FERE.

PHRENTIC, adj., *phrenetic, frantic*. 57. 410.

PIGHT, v. pt., *pitched*. 57. 40.

PLAGE, PLAYE, n., *wound*. 58. 2.

PLAYE, n., *entertainment*. 31. 38.

PLAYNE, v., *lament, mourn*. 4. 10.

PONDERETH, v., *weighs*. The original meaning. 22. 8.

PRAYES, n., *praise*. 31. 26.

PREA, v., *prey*. 34. 31.

PRELOKED, v. pt., *looked with anticipation*. Rare. 54. 33.

PREST, adv., *quickly*. 58. T. 789, H. 785.

PRETENSE, n., *intention, purpose*. 23. 34.

PURCHASE, v., *obtain by great effort*. 38. 6.

Q

QUOD, v., *quoth, said*. 23. 7.

R

RAKHELL, adj., *careless, unrestrained*. Mid. E. *rakel, rash*, corrupted to *rakehell*; whence, by shortening, *rake*. 30. 8.

RANGE, v. pt., *rang*. 38. 2.

RASHED, pf. pple., *pulled violently*. Cf. N. E. D. *rash*. 58. T. 827.

RAUGHT, v. pt., *grasped, clutched, laid hold of*. 24. 62; 57. 272.

RECURE, v., *recover, become whole*. 39. 5.

RECURE, v., *succor*. 47. 9.

REDE, v., *advise, urge*. 12. 9.

REDUCETH, v., *brings back*. 11. 14.

- REFARDE, v., *restored, given back*. Var. of *refer*. 28. 59.
 REFUSE, n., *refusal*. 34. 64.
 REPAYRE, n., *concourse of people*. 13. 19.
 REPREST, pf. pple., *pressed back*. Latinism. 11. 27.
 REPUGNANT, adj., *opposite, antithetical*.—The orig. meaning; Cf. O. Fr. *repugnant*. Cf. *Hamlet* 2. 2. 493. 5. 10.
 REPULSE, n., *check*. 14. 18.
 REQUYRE, v., *request*. Customary sense in 16th century. 33. 6.
 REVESTED, pf. pple., *re clothed*. 30. 3.
 REWE, v., *rue*. 10. 5.
 REWTHE, n., *ruth*. 31. 21.
 RIGHTWISE, adj., *righteous*. 32. 66.
 RIUES, v., *splits*. 42. 9.
 ROON, v., *run*. 14. 20.
 ROOUNYNG, adj., *running*. 14. 6.
 ROW, n., *company*. Rare; Cf. N. E. D. 26. 27.

S

- SALUITH, v., *salutes*. Cf. Mid. E. *saluen*. 33.25.
 SARVE, v., *serve*. 11. 9.
 SAUGHT, v. pt., *reached*. 57. 280, 1054.
 SCATHE, n., *harm*. 54. 4.
 SENCE, cf. CENSE.
 SHADOO, v., *conceal*. 4.7.
 SHAPP, v. pr., *imagine, conceive*. 32. 33.
 SHENE, adj., *shining*. Cf. adj. *sheen*. 57. 971.
 SHITT, v., *shut*. 55. 28.
 SHOPE, v. pt., *prepared*. Cf. N. E. D. *shape*. 57. 577.
 SICKLES, adj., *free from sickness*. 22. 29.
 SIGHES, SITHES, n., *scythes*. 58. T. 689, H. 685.
 SIGHT, v. pr., *sighed*. 43. 4, 25.
 SITHES, n., *sighs*. 57. 1023.
 SKILLS, v., *matters*. —*It skills not* common idiom in 16th century. 33. 4.
 SLACKE, n., *looseness*. 11. 37.
 SLIPPER, adj., *slippery, unsure*. Cf. *Othello* 2.1.243: "a *slipper* and subtle knave." 22.49.
 SLUGGISH, adj., *dull, stupid*. 23. 13.
 SMART, n., *pain*. 11. 29, *et freq.*
 SMOKY, adj., *having appearance of smoke, hazy*. 30. 11.
 SOOTE, adj., *sweet*. Cf. Mid. E. *sôte*. 2. 1.
 SOWER, subst., *the sour*. 33. 37.
 SOWNDLES, adj., *soundless*. 32. 25.
 SOWNDYD, ppl. adj., *sounded*. 53. 30.

- SPENCE, n., *expenditure of money*. 49. 76; 52. 61.
 SPILT, pf. pple., *lost*. 22. 14.
 SPLAID(E), ppl. adj., *unfurled, spread out*. 58. T. 783, H. 779.
 SPOORE, n., *spur*. 14. 19.
 SPOT, v., *defile, mar.* 17. 3.
 STACK, STAKE, v. pt., *stuck*. 58. 6.
 STALE, n., *meat offered to a falcon that has gone in search of prey, to lure it back*.
 34. 60.
 STAYE, n., *support, prop.* 33. 25.
 STITHE, n., *stithy, anvil*. 46. 7.
 STREAMES, n., *currents, streams, rays of light*. So used by Chaucer, Lydgate,
 and court poets. 14. 13; 20. 22.
 STYCKES, v., *hesitates, scruples*. 27. 6.
 SWARMES, n., *troops*. 31. 23.
 SYMPLE, adj., *ingenuous*. 22. 4.

T

- TARGE, n., *shield*. 40. 6.
 THIRLING, ppl. adj., *piercing*. 58. T. 91, H. 92.
 THO, adv., *then*. 24. 25.
 THREPE, v., *urge, press*. Lincoln Dialect. 54. 3.
 THROWING, ppl. adj., *agonizing, suffering*. Cf. *throe, to suffer*. 58. T. 927.
 TICKELL, adj., *inconstant*. 7. 4.
 TO, adv., *too*. 15. 7; *et freq.*
 TOTHER(S), *the other(s)*. 22. 6; 53. 32.
 TRAYND, v. pt., *allured, enticed*. Cf. Mid. E. *trainen*. 34. 54.
 TRAYNES, *allurements*. Cf. *Macbeth* 4. 3. 118: "Macbeth by many of these
trains hath sought to win me." 15. 14; 22. 47.

U

- UGSOME, adj., *ugly, hideous*. 57. 102.
 VNEGALL, adj., *unequal*. 22. 8.
 VNNETH, adv., *with difficulty, hardly*. Cf. O. E. *uneafe*. 33. 33.
 VNWIST, v., pf. pple., *unknown, unobserved*. Cf. WITE. 23. 15.
 UNWROKEN, ppl. adj., *unwreaked, unrevenged*. 57. 884; 58. T. 879. H. 874.
 VPSUPPED, pf. pple., *supped up*. 31. 44.
 URE, VRE, n., *use, practice, operation*. Cf. *inure*. 13. 28; 17. 23; *et freq.*
 VSE, n., *practice, custom*. 11. 24.

V

- VAADE, v., *evade*. 50. 13.
 VAPORED, ppl. adp., *moistened*. 30. 12.
 VAUNTE, n., *glory, credit*. 34. 34.
 VNPARFITED, pf. pple., *unperfected*. 46. 15.

- VNRIGHT, n., *wrong*. 32. 16.
 VNWIST, v., pf. pple., *unknown, unobserved*. Cf. WITE. 23.15.
 VEARE, n., *spring foliage*. 30. 4.
 VENUME, VENVME, n., *venom*. 5. 10; 14. 16.
 VER, prop n., *Spring*. 23. 19.

W

- WAN, old pt. of *win*. 44. 4.
 WHEARE, subst., *place*. 33. 34.
 WHILES, adv., *at times*. 56. 3.
 WHIST(E), v., *to become silent*. Cf. *hist, husht*. 57. 1; *et freq.*
 WHOURDED, ppl. adj., *hoarded*. 50.64.
 WITE, WEET(E), v., *to know, learn, understand*. Cf. *wit*, Cent. Dict., Dial. Dict. 17.6; *et freq.*
 WONNING PLACE, n., *dwelling place*. Cf. O. E. *wunung, dwelling*. 57. 842.
 WOOD(E), adj., *mad*. Cf. O. E. *wōd*; Woden. 57. 805; 58. 263.
 WOON, pf. pple., *won*. 22. 13.
 WORTHE, in IN WORTHE, *in good part*. 14. 23; 27. 26.
 WOURKE, v., *work*. 32. 16.
 WRASTETH, v., *turns about, changes*. Cf. *wrest*. 26. 21.
 WRECK, v., *to wreak vengeance*. 57. 542.
 WRETHED, ppl. adj., *twisted*. Cf. WRITHED. 58. H. 765.
 WRITHED, WRYTHED, v. pt., *turned*. 58. 282.
 WRITHEN, ppl. adj., *twisted*. 58. T. 769.
 WROKE, pf. pple., *revenged*. Cf. *wreck*. 57. 770.

Y

- YBRETHED, pple., *breathing*. 31. 30.
 YELDON, YOLDEN, ppl. adj., *submissive*. Cf. Chaucer, *Troilus* 3. 96: "humble i-yolden chere." Cf. YOLD. 22. 43; 51. 54.
 YERTHE, n., *earth*. 11. 2.
 YOLD, pf. pple., *overcome*. From *yield*. Cf. YELDON. 57. 827.
 YOUTHE, n. pl., *youths*. 31. 23.

APPENDIX

On the authority of *England's Helicon*, a collection of lyrical and pastoral poems published in 1600, two of the poems attributed to unknown authors in *Tottel's Miscellany* should be accredited to Surrey. These pastorals are spirited and musical, and the diction is clearly reminiscent of Surrey; it is not improbable that they are his work. The poems are herewith submitted.

1

THE COMPLAINT OF HARPALUS

Phylida was a fayer mayde, And fresh as any flowre, Whom Harpalus the herdman prayed To be his paramour.	
Harpalus and eke Corin Were herdmen both yfere, And Phillida could twist and spin And therto sing full clere.	5
But Phillida was all to coy For Harpelus to winne, For Corin was her onely ioye Who forst her not a pynne.	10
How often would she flowers twine, How often garlandes make Of couslippes and of colombine, And all for Corins sake.	15
But Corin he had haukes to lure And forced more the field; Of louers lawe he toke no cure, For once he was begilde.	20
Harpalus preualed nought, His labour all was lost, For he was fardest from her thought,— And yet he loued her most.	
Therefore waxt he both pale and leane And dry as clot of clay: His fleshe it was consumed cleane, His colour gone away.	25
His beard it had not long be shaue, His heare hong all vnkempt: A man moste fitte euen for the graue, Whom spitefull loue had spent.	30

- His eyes were red and all forewatched,
 His face besprent with teares:
 It semde vnhap had him long hatched 35
 In middes of his dispayres.
- His clothes were blacke and also bare,
 As one forlorne was he;
 Vpon his heade alwaies he ware 40
 A wreath of wilow tree.
- His beastes he vept vpon the hyll,
 And he sate in the dale,
 And thus with sighes and sorowes shryll
 He gan to tell his tale:
- "O Harpelus!" thus would he say, 45
 "Vnhappiest vnder sunne,
 The cause of thine vnhappy day
 By loue was first begone.
- For thou wentest first my sute to seeke,
 A tygre to make tame, 50
 That sets not by thy loue a leke
 But makes thy grefe her game.
- As easye it were for to conuert
 The frost into the flame,
 As for to turne a forward hert 55
 Whom thou so fain wouldst frame.
- Corin, he liueth carelesse,
 He leapes among the leaues;
 He eates the frutes of thy redresse:
 Thou reapes, he takes the sheaues. 60
- My beastes, a while your fode refrayne
 And herken your herdmans sounde,
 Whom spitefull loue, alas! hath slaine,
 Throughgirt with many a wounde.
- Oh happy be ye beastes wilde, 65
 That here your pasture takes!
 I se that ye be not begylde
 Of these your faythfull makes.
- The hart he fedeth by the hynde,
 The bucke hard by the doo, 70
 The turtle doue is not vnkinde
 To him that loues her so.

- The ewe she hath by her the ramme,
 The yong cow hath the bulle,
 The calf with many a lusty lamme 75
 Do feede their hunger full.
- But, wellaway, that nature wrought
 Thee, Phillida, so faire!
 For I may say that I haue bought
 Thy beauty all to deare. 80
- What reason is it that cruelty
 With beauty should have part?
 Or els that such great tyranny
 Should dwell in woman's hart?
- I see therfore to shape my death 85
 She cruelly is prest,
 To thend that I may want my breathe.
 My dayes been at the best.
- O Cupide! graunt this my request,
 And do not stoppe thine eares: 90
 That she may fele within her brest
 The paynes of my dispayres.
- Of Corin, that is carelesse,
 That she may craue her fee,
 As I haue done in great distresse 95
 That loued her faythfully.
- But sins that I shall die her slaue,
 Her slaue and eke her thrall,
 Write you, my frendes, vpon my graue
 This chance that is befall. 100
- 'Here lieth vnhappy Harpelus,
 Whom cruell loue hath slayne;
 By Phillida vniustly thus
 Muredred with false disdaine.' "

T., p. 138. *Title*: Harpelus complaynt of Phillidaes loue bestowed on Corin, who loued her not, and denied him that loued her.—68 *for* makes *read* face.

Variants in second ed.:—1 *fayre*.—45 Harpalus.—68 *line in text*.—103 whom Phillida.—104 Hath muredred with disdaine.

Variants in England's Helicon (Bullen's ed.):—2 As fresh.—3 herdsman.—6 herdsmen.—23 furthest.—26 clod.—29 been shave.—36 midst.—39 he always.—52 a game.—53 As easy were it.—54 a flame.—60 reap'st.—62 hark.—65 beasts.—102 By cruel love now slain.—103 Whom Phyllida.—104 Hath murder'd with disdain.

2

THE COMPLAINT OF THESTILIS

Thestilis is a sely man, when loue did him forsake,
 In mourning wise, amid ye woods thus gan his plaint to make:
 "Ah! wofull man," quod he, "fallen is thy lot to mone
 And pyne away with carefull thoughts, vnto thy loue vnknownen.
 Thy lady thee forsakes, whom thou didst honor so 5
 That ay to her thou wer a frend, and to thy self a foe.
 Ye louers that haue lost your heartes desyred choyse,
 Lament with me my cruell happe and helpe my trembling voyce.
 Was neuer man that stode so great in fortunes grace,
 Nor with his swete, alas! to deare, possessest so high a place 10
 As I, whose simple hart aye thought him selfe full sure,
 But now I se hye springyng tides they may not aye endure.
 She knowes my giltlesse hart, and yet she lets it pine,
 Of her vntrue professed loue so feble is the twine.
 What wonder is it than if I berent my heeres, 15
 And crauyng death continually do bathe my selfe in teares!
 When Creusa, king of Lide, was cast in cruell bandes,
 And yelded goodes and life also into his enemies handes,
 What tong could tell hys wo? Yet was hys grief much lesse
 Then mine, for I haue lost my loue which might my woe redresse. 20
 Ye woodes that shroud my limes, giue now your holow sound,
 That ye may helpe me to bewaile the cares that me confound.
 Ye riuers, rest a while, and stay the streames that runne,
 Rew Thestilis, most woful man that liues under the sunne.
 Transport my sighes, ye windes, vnto my pleasant foe; 25
 My trickling teares shall witnesse bear of this my cruell woe.
 O! happy man wer I, if all the goddes agreed
 That now the susters three should cut in twaine my fatall threde!
 Till life with loue shall ende, I here resigne my ioy:
 Thy pleasant swete I now lament whose lack brede myne any. 30
 Farewel! my deare, therfore farewell! to me well knowne;
 If that I die, it shalbe sayd that thou hast slaine thine owne."

T., p. 165. *Title:* The complaint of Thestilis amid the desert wodde.—24 that liued vnder sunne.

Variants in second ed:—15 heares.—24 as in text.—29 al ioy.

Variants in England's Helicon:—1 is omitted.—2 mournful.—5 Thy nymph forsakes thee quite.—6 but to.—23 your streams.—24 Rue Thestilis, the wofull'st man that rests under the sun.

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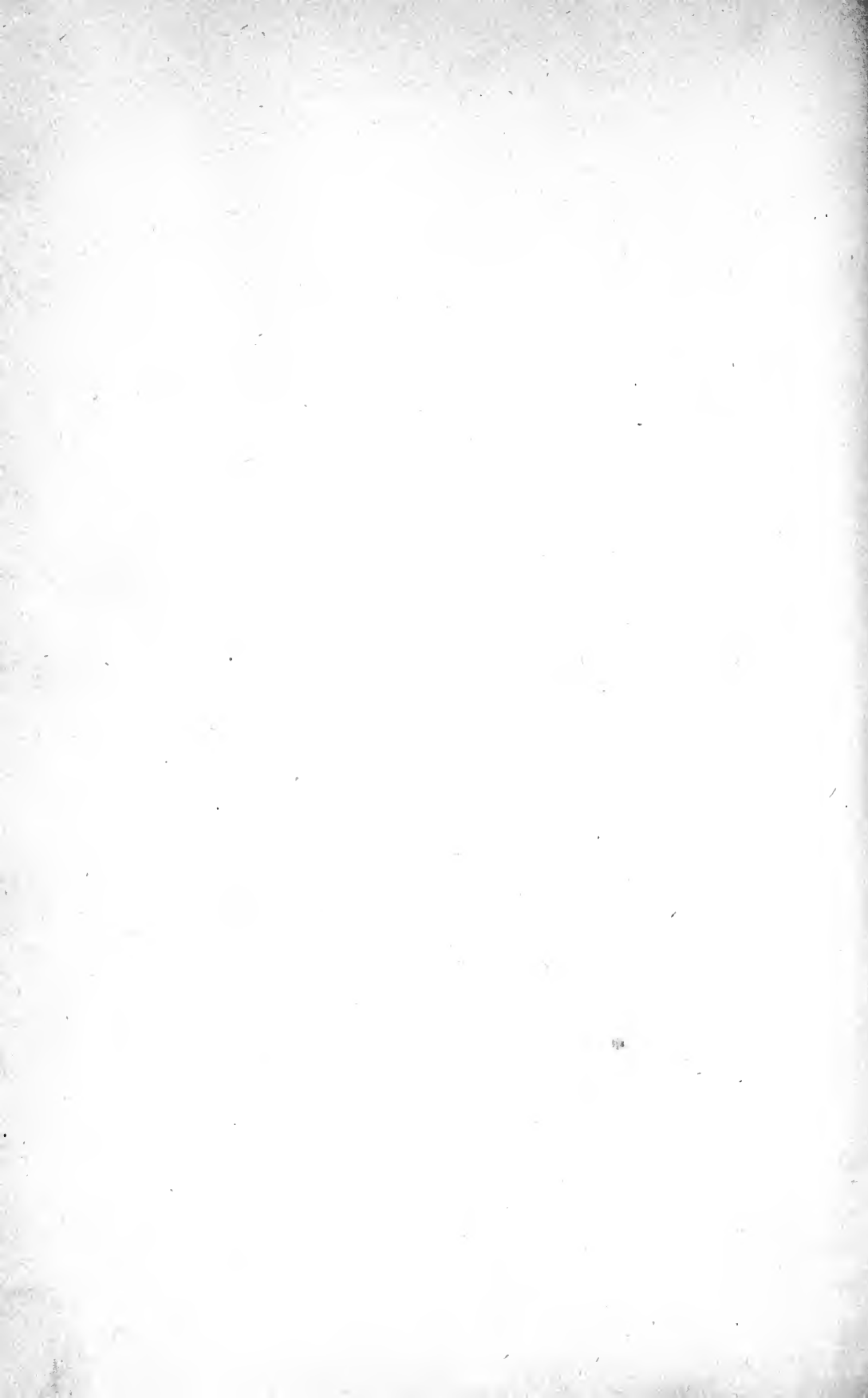
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SUSANNAH JANE McMURPHY, Ph.D.

A Thesis Submitted in Candidacy for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

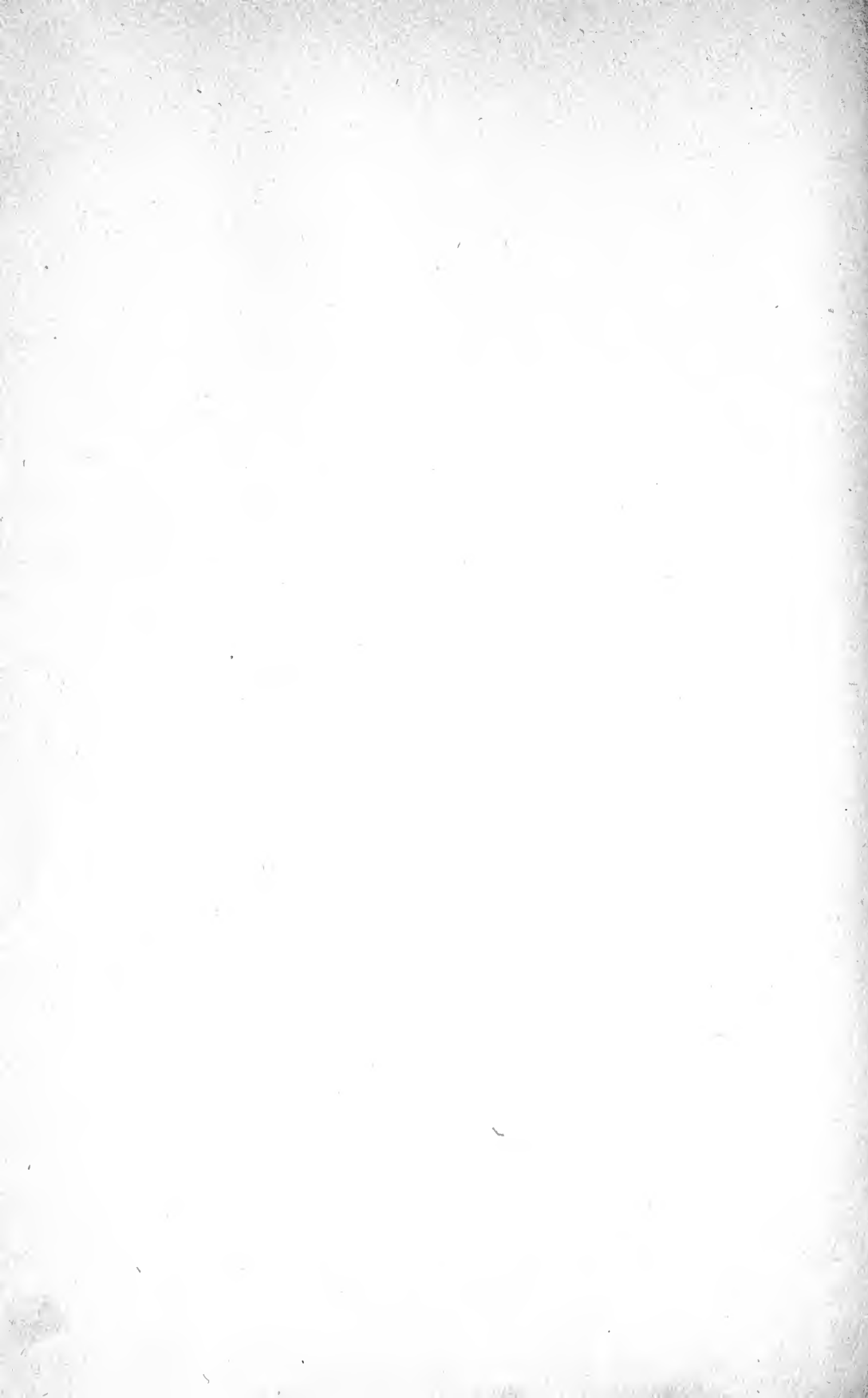


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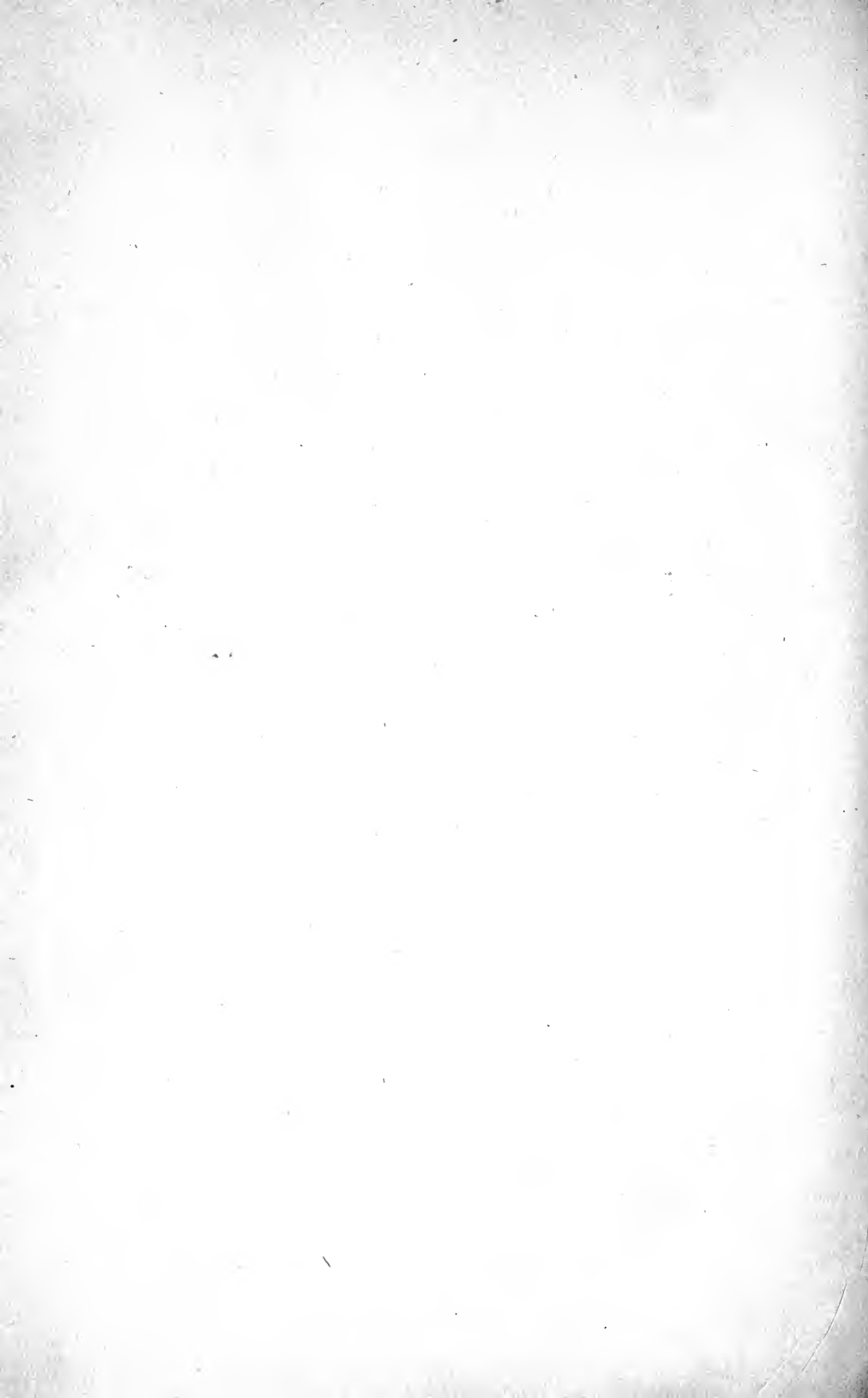


PREFACE

To readers of Professor Dodge's excellent, and in many respects exhaustive article on *Spenser's Imitations from Ariosto*, it may appear neither necessary nor modest for another to venture again into the field. Professor Dodge's labors, together with those of Professor Gilbert, have indeed mapped out for us the territory whence Spenser drew his material. The list of parallel situations, characters, descriptions, figures, and phrases is quite complete, and the degree and the manner in which Spenser's artistic practice was influenced by the great Italian is set forth with discriminating care. To Professor Dodge's article I must acknowledge my debt for the first hint that Ariosto's contemporaries and critics discovered in him allegory which probably is not there. But neither Professor Dodge, nor, so far as I am aware, other scholars, have attempted to compare these annotators and critics with Spenser, in order to determine how far his borrowings may have been influenced by interpretations of his Italian model which, pedantic though they are, yet reflect the conception of that time, and afford us an insight into Spenser's own views and purposes. It was the neglect of this narrow and particular portion of the field that prompted the following essay. I have not considered the real Ariosto, the artist, the man of affairs, the perhaps slightly satiric, but vivacious and charming Renaissance courtier. Him, Spenser, himself artist and courtier, no doubt appreciated and admired; but it is another Ariosto, the allegorist discovered by a later age and altered temper, whose influence upon his English rival I have endeavored to estimate.

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Stadium High School,
November 15, 1923.



SPENSER'S USE OF ARIOSTO FOR ALLEGORY

I

THE TRADITIONAL VIEW OF EPIC AS ALLEGORY

It is a truism to say that allegory permeates mediaeval life at every point. Not only do we find it in sermons and similar religious literature where it is the legitimate heir of the prophecies of the Old Testament and the parables of the New, and in the religious drama based on these, but it appears in the pseudo-science of the bestiaries and the lapidaries, in the satire of the beast-epic, in the romances of chivalry and the songs of the Court of Love, in heraldry, in the ceremonies accompanying every solemn function of church and state, in the gravest political and ecclesiastical treatises, in the carvings and stained glass of the cathedrals, in the very dress of all classes of society. The conception of government itself, the World-priest and the World-king, Emperor and Pope, became an allegory of Divine Unity in its dual aspect of temporal and spiritual rule.¹

Because in the Middle Ages allegory is so evident and necessary a feature of life and thought, we are apt to imagine it passing much more rapidly from men's minds with the gradual dawning of the Renaissance than it either could or did; and when we come upon it in Spenser, combined as it is with certain archaisms of style borrowed from Chaucer, we are apt to think of it as an anachronism, a return to a vanished age, rather than as part and parcel of the thought of the sixteenth century, an air which the men of Spenser's generation breathed quite kindly. Warton, in his *Observations on the Fairy Queen*,² remarks the fondness of Elizabeth's age for allegorical shows and pageants, especially at court and during royal progresses; to which we should add the enthusiasm for pastoral poetry, euphuism with its heaping up of allegorical similitudes, the whole canon of English literature—Chaucer, Gower, Langland, Lydgate, Skelton and Hawes, all of them abounding in allegory, the prevalence of allegorical or partly allegorical plays on the stage until nearly the turn of the century, probably many of the current sermons, and one dominant strain in the interpretation and criticism of the classics.

Of the last I must speak somewhat further. The practice of discovering or devising a hidden allegorical meaning in what to our age appear frankly literal, if sometimes legendary, tales, is very old, probably older than, and quite as "classical" as the classical criteria which were used to overthrow it. At least as early as 500 B. C. a moral and physical allegory of Homer had been supplied by philosophers who felt the inadequacy of the simple epic tales to satisfy their increasingly complex intellectual and spiritual desires. By the

¹ Bryce: *Holy Roman Empire*, pp. 89-120.

² Warton: *Observations on the Fairy Queen*, II, p. 74 ff.

time of the *Republic*, which indicates a Puritan reaction against art, another incentive is given to the tendency, namely the desire to defend poetry against the utilitarian moralists. By the fourth century before Christ the practice is so widespread that the opponents of the allegorizing habit of mind begin to protest. But the mystic or moral interpretation holds its own in each generation, finding supporters among Stoics, Pharisees, Neoplatonists, and Christian mystics.³ Meanwhile the classic was blended with another stream of influence. As early as the second century B. C. the Pharisees were allegorizing the Old Testament in order to harmonize the written record with the oral traditions of the synagogue, the Cabbala,⁴ a process which recalls the efforts of the Greeks three hundred years before and of the Christians some hundreds of years later. By the Christian era the Alexandrian Jews were carrying this tendency yet farther in the attempt to reconcile the Hebrew religion with Greek philosophy. It is interesting to find Philo Judaeus, the noteworthy figure in this movement, treating the patriarchs of the Old Testament as types of the moral virtues, as courage, temperance, justice, and the like.⁵ That Paul was familiar with both types of interpretation may be inferred from the allusions to the meaning of the ritual of the altar in the Epistle to the Hebrews, and the phrases which recall Stoic concepts in various other epistles.⁶ Through Origen and Porphyry both of whom were closely in touch with Neoplatonism, this allegorical view of classical mythology as well as of Scripture received a strong impetus in the early church, not without opposition.⁷ We are probably indebted to the mystical interpretation of mythology for the preservation of much ancient literature in the scriptoria of the monasteries. The extreme allegorization of the Scriptures continues unchecked until the Reformation. During the Middle Ages not only Homer and the Greek myths, but also Virgil's *Aeneid*, *Georgics*, and *Eclogues*,⁸ and Ovid's *Art of Love* were elaborately allegorized, the latter for the use of nuns! Later the *Metamorphoses* received a moralization at the hands of one del Virgilio, a contemporary of Dante (whose *Divine Comedy* also bears evidence of the tradition).⁹ It is hard for the modern mind to conceive the twelve books of the *Aeneid* as an allegory of

how brief the life of man

Runs his erring pilgrimage,

beginning with the shipwreck of birth, and tossed through all the temptations of sense, with each warrior representing a virtue or a passion; still harder to gather moral edification from the *Metamorphoses* and the *Art of Love*, but whoever thinks he has quite slipped the cable of the old tradition need only call to mind our current use of words like siren, harpy, Circe.

³ Sandys: *History of Classical Scholarship*, Vol. I.

⁴ Alzog: *Manual of Universal Church History*, Vol. I.

⁵ Emile Bréhier: *Philo Judaeus*, in the *Catholic Cyclopaedia*.

⁶ Epistle to the Hebrews, Chap. IX, and E. Vernon Arnold: *Roman Stoicism*, p. 408 ff.

⁷ Alzog: *Manual of Universal Church History*, Vol. I.

⁸ Comparetti: *Virgil in the Middle Ages*, esp. pp. 104-119.

⁹ Sandys: *History of Classical Scholarship*, Vol. I.

Origen and Porphyry knew three types of interpretation, literal, moral, and spiritual, corresponding to body, soul, and spirit. Later a fourth was added. Wyclif, who pursues this mode of exegesis eagerly in his sermons, explains the system as follows: "It is said comounly that holy writt hath foure undirstondingis. The first undirstondinge is pleyne, by letter of the storye. The secounde undirstondinge is clepid witt allegoric whan men undirstonden bi witt of the lettre what thing shal fall here bifore the dai of dome. The thridde undirstondinge is clepid tropologik, and it techeth how men shulden live here in vertues. The fourthe undirstondinge is clepid anagogike, and it tellith how it shal be with men that ben in hevene. We shulde know this secounde witt of the gospel, for it is bileve of Christene men in erthe."¹⁰ After reading a number of the allegorical sermons of Wyclif (or of earlier homilists in either Latin or English), one perceives that the main purpose of the allegory is, in truth, not morals, but "bileve," that is doctrine. Wyclif is still theologian and scholastic philosopher; even in his most fervent moments he never quite escapes the intellectual fascination of those two points of view. It is perhaps one reason why he did not usher in the Reformation; it is no doubt the prevailingly doctrinal cast of this artificial allegory that accounts for its decay with the growing strength of the Reformation. I mean that it decreases in homiletic literature. There are but faint traces of it left in Latimer. In Elizabethan sermons it is likely, if it occurs, to be confined to the interpretation of parables that really are allegories in their inception. Even there it is not often stretched beyond modest limits.¹¹ Colet and Erasmus, even before the English Reformation, had contributed a colder and more critical method of exegesis; but also in finding an answer to the allegorized doctrine and ritual of Roman polemicists. Protestant divines, like their prototypes in the field of politics, were driven back upon a literal interpretation of the Scriptures, which they everywhere accepted as ultimate authority.

Meanwhile, if Protestantism tended to restrict allegory within more reasonable limits in the interpretation of the Bible, it may be said to have evoked new extravagance in the field of profane letters. The first movement of the Renaissance was away from everything mediaeval, especially away from the hard intellectualism of the schoolmen. This first eagerness for a richer life seems to have developed in the last half of the fifteenth century into marked licentiousness and materialism. The Church itself had become paganized, ancient philosophy and ancient art replaced religion, no counterbalancing influence made itself felt. But by the end of the century the eternal craving of the human spirit for something more satisfying than mere sensual enjoyment produced both an anti-pagan reaction in the Church and a Neoplatonic movement among the scholars. The mystic-allegoric type of criticism comes to the fore again in the Florentine Academy. The mediaeval interpretation of the classics is revived or remade by Landino, while Ficino and Pico aspire, the

¹⁰ Wyclif: *Select English Works*, Vol. I, Sermon XII.

¹¹ Sermons of Latimer, Whitgift, Sandys in the *Publications of the Parker Society*.

one to reconcile Plato with Christ in one system, the other to accomplish the harmonizing with this of the Hebrew tradition of the Cabbala.¹² It is interesting to find these heirs of Philo Judaeus the devoted friends of Savanarola, the representative of the anti-Renaissance, puritan movement. Allegory comes forward again as the defense of art.

Pico died in 1494, Ficino in 1499. Savanarola was burned in 1498, and with him was extinguished the energy of the reform movement. Between this date and the sack of Rome in 1527 lies perhaps the last period of joyous, paganizing Renaissance—joyous in spite of wars and rumors of wars, a kind of St. Martin's summer of beauty and delight before the winter storms to come. It is the period when Ariosto wrote his *Orlando Furioso*. From 1527 on, the growing strife of sects, the increasingly religious character of the wars, the Counter-Reformation, the greater activity of the Inquisition, and the spread of the puritanic Jesuits, with the rise of Calvinism, constitute a weather little favorable to a care-free paganizing holiday.

¹² Sandys: *History of Classical Scholarship*, Vol. II; Saintsbury: *History of Criticism*, Vol. II, Chap. II.

II

THE ORLANDO FURIOSO AS ALLEGORY IN ITALY AND ENGLAND

The *Orlando Furioso* was written, as has been said, between 1498 or possibly 1506, and 1532, when the finally complete edition appeared, the first, in only forty cantos, having been published in 1516.¹³ The writing synchronizes with the pontificates of three humanistic popes and patrons of art, Julius II, Leo X, and Clement VII; it is the period of Bembo and of Castiglione; of Machiavelli's *Prince* and the exemplification of that ideal, especially in its cultural aspects, at Ferrara and Urbino. That it is also the age of Luther and Zwingli, of Colet and More, one would scarcely surmise from Ariosto. "Beyond the Alps lies Italy", and their peaks seem now to furnish an effectual shelter against the searching northeast winds of the spirit. Ariosto, to be sure, jests at monks and friars with as much zest, but not on the whole as scurrilously, as Boccaccio. (Let it be remembered that his principal patron was a Cardinal.) But this very jesting indicates the absence of the reforming temper in poet and audience. In Germany men could cudgel each other with invective; they could not laugh.

The spirit of the *Furioso* is a curious blending of many strains: there is broad humor, there is satire, practical shrewd sense, whimsicality; allegory developed at times with genuine insight and again merely fantastic; chivalry, tenderness, gaiety, romance; along with a cynical relish for smutty episode, and extravagant flattery scarcely pretending to be sincere. It is difficult to apportion to these various elements their just share in the total result and determine the ground color beneath the iridescent shimmerings. The really offensive episodes may be segregated and removed. With two or three exceptions they are cantos quite extraneous to the main story, injected apparently to give variety and to gratify the author's taste for the fabliaux. Essentially they are not worse of their kind than one finds in Chaucer, although the spirit of the recital is different—a difference between the Teutonic and the Latin habit of mind, hardly to be correctly evaluated by either. The satire in Ariosto is likewise probably not extensive if we distinguish as we should between satire and humor. Ariosto's mood is not prevailingly satirical.^v His description of the quarrel in the monastery when St. Michael seizes the staff of the crucifix and breaks it over the head of Strife who is presiding at the election of the chapter, is an extreme example. There is an occasional satiric comment thrown in aside from the story, as when the author remarks, with regard to the wanderings of Fiordilige that the ladies of that day wandered forth alone through strange lands for long periods of time quite unaccompanied, but always returned as young, as fair, as pure, as they set out—or their knights were fain to accept them so. These comments seem the irresistible impulse of sharp common sense rather than the

¹³ For a discussion of the date, see Carducci: *Su l'Orlando Furioso*. I give the extreme limits.

desire to satirize—which satirizing temper usually contains some tinge of moral discontent. More frequent and more characteristic are the instances of humor, sometimes slight, vanishing so quickly that one half questions whether he has seen the smile, sometimes broad and rollicking. It is scarcely safe to account as humor what Warton is pleased to call figures aiming at ridicule because they compare heroes with snarling dogs, peasants cudgeling each other, and like objects.¹⁴ These figures like similar ones in Dante and Homer are clear and lively rather than beautiful, but they are probably not intended as humorous. The deaths of the two drunkards before Paris, the panic-stricken flight of Astolfo's friends as well as foes at the sound of the horn, Gabrinia decked out in the youthful finery of Pinnabello's lady, are examples of comic skill. And it is difficult to imagine any one reading Orlando's heroic combat with the Orc without chuckles of amusement as well as delight. But there is something of the glee in this with which a Yankee views a new machine. You applaud the cleverness of the device fully as much as you smile at the grotesqueness of the image. Altogether Carducci has the right phrase for this aspect of the work: "È male si giudica prosaicamente ironico e volgarmente scettico quel tempo nel quale anzi lo spirito italiano (e fu questo la sua gloria e la sua grazia immortale) giunto al sommo dell' ascensione parve abbracciare, se me si conceda l'immagine, l'antichità e il medio evo, l'occidente e l'oriente con tale una potente gioia di amore espansivo che anche parve un momento volerli e poterli in quel suo divino abbracciamento fondere e confondere in sé."¹⁵

Of allegory in Ariosto there are two or three authentic examples. Of these the captivity of Astolfo and Ruggiero in Alcina's realm and their escape and sojourn with Logostilla is the most considerable; the visit of Astolfo to Purgatory, to the Earthly Paradise, and to the moon, the creature called Jealousy, the characters of Strife and Fraud and Quiet, the strange monster supposed to represent avarice in Canto XXVI, and possibly the tale of the magic cup in Cantos XLII and XLIII cover nearly all else. In the main, reading him today, we are inclined to see Ariosto using allegory as he uses everything else, mediaeval romances of love, chivalric combats, fabliaux of unfaithful wives, classic myths, historical allusion, tales of magic, songs of love, to secure variety and never flagging interest in his tale. It is part of the universal embrace of which Carducci speaks.

If there seems to the northern reader recalling Bunyan and Langland, much intellectual cleverness and little moral earnestness in this allegory, he must remember that intellectual ingenuity, as often as emotional mysticism, may be the mother of this form. There are allegories like the best of the fairy tales, like *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, in which a child-like delight in things—shining armor, beautiful robes, delicious food, rich furnishings—is completely fused with a sense of magic and of spiritual truth, so that you dissipate the truth if you try to separate it from its embodiment; again there

¹⁴ Warton: *Observations on the Fairy Queen*, Vol. I, p. 307.

¹⁵ Carducci: *Su l'Orlando Furioso*, p. 263 ff.

are others in which, even if the author himself could dissociate his idea from its symbol, the symbol is so perfectly the instrument for his melody that we cannot wish to hear it with any other timbre. But these do not exhaust the possibilities. Allegory may be an intellectual exercise, serious as in the *Vision of Mirza*, playful as in *The House of Fame*, or bitterly satirical as in *Gulliver's Travels*, where the aim is not to express the otherwise inexpressible, but to devise a characteristic costume for a well-known figure, and thus present a speaking likeness. Both Ariosto and Spenser approach the latter type. They are genuinely interested in the problems they consider, they essay to discover the true nature of the experience they allegorize, but they are not working under a burning inner compulsion to bring just this message and no other to birth; they have time to embroider the edges of the robe with appropriate designs.

✓ Ariosto passes lightly from one theme to another, from one mood to another. One of his greatest charms is the arch smile with which he remarks, in the midst of a breathless combat, or while the ship is struggling in the teeth of the storm, "Lest you become weary with this, let us return to Paris," or "But now I remember that I have seemed to neglect for a long time the maiden warrior, who, as you may recall," and so on. The technique of the serial novelist had in him already reached its zenith.

Within the cool hall of the palace at Ferrara, or on a sunny terrace of the garden of Belriguardo, amid a smiling circle of courtly nobles, of discreetly wise ladies, with here and there a scholar, a diplomat, a prelate, our Messer Ludovico reads or recites with an expression half dreamy, half gay, his lively, smoothly flowing, ever varied stanzas. It is a tale for such a setting, for a holiday group of friends, for a time of youth—or rather for a leisurely autumn of delight, of beauty and sunshine, savored the more keenly because it is fleeting.

Quanto è bella giovinezza,
Che si fugge tuttavia!
Chi vuol esser lieto, sia:
Di domán non c'è certezza.

The analyses of the scholar-reformer, the rapt contemplation of the mystic have there no place.

The generation that followed Ariosto does not seem to have wished to be gay. Almost from the date of the *Furioso* the labors of the critical tribe begin. In a measure they too achieved the *abbracciamento* or synthesis at least of antiquity and the Middle Ages, if not of Occident and Orient. The allegorical interpretations of Virgil, Homer, Ovid and Dante, Aristotle's theory of imitation, Plato's concept of the idea of beauty, Horace's precept that poetry shall serve to instruct and to delight grow side by side without a conflict at first. A creed may be formulated according to which the poet teaches by moving delight in the imitation of the essential beauty, the essential truth of things. The idea becomes embodied in a person, the truth in an action; thus we have allegory. By reversing the process and seeking the idea beneath the person and the action,

we arrive at the recondite truth hidden from the vulgar in ancient myths, epics—even in modern romances. The scholar wedded to the mediaeval type of interpretation could accept both Aristotle and Plato fully and continue to suck allegory out of a story "as a weasel sucks eggs." Today we have lost the knack; but even after neoclassicism has triumphed, Warton can remark unhesitatingly that Ariosto's is a moral poem, but Spenser's scarcely deserves that title, for his historical allegory overbalances the moral, though the historical personages have a moral purpose.¹⁶

Of the conflicts that arose among Italian critics over epic and romance, the laws that govern each, and the jurisdiction of Aristotle, over Tasso's and Ariosto's comparative merits as to unity and morality, I fortunately do not need to treat. A summary may be found in Professor Dodge's so comprehensive article on *Spenser's Imitations from Ariosto*, or in Saintsbury's or Dr. Spingarn's history of criticism. What interests us is rather what the allegorizers made of Ariosto as allegory. The two fat little volumes published by Fornari¹⁷ in 1549, and the *Bellezze*¹⁸ by Toscanella, 1574, are works of rather different character. It may be admitted that both appear to us today largely pedantic; but this must be attributed to the fashion of the time. The comments are in the nature of notes of parallels and sources, with a certain amount of rhetorical exposition illustrated, some consideration of etymology, orthography, and grammar, and an occasional note of admiration, unfortunately too often bound up with some rule of "decorum" which the poet is commended for observing. Fornari furnishes a defense of Ariosto, evidently devised for the edification of the Aristotelians, in which he discusses his unity, his imitation of Virgil and Homer, his conformity to the rules of epic poetry, and his variety. Then follow comments in detail, chiefly rhetorical and philological, conducted canto by canto. Fornari tells us that with the twelfth canto he arrived at the idea of writing a little exposition of the moral lesson of each canto as introduction, but the first four had already been so treated. This moralizing does not include allegory, for in the second volume are collected all the episodes that are considered capable of allegorical interpretation. These by no means include the whole work. The best part, Fornari says, and justly, is the sojourn of Astolfo and Ruggiero in the gardens of Alcina and their escape into the realm of Logostilla; but he adds a number of other incidents from other parts of the story, wherein, as in the minuteness of his explanations, he betrays the weakness of all allegorizers, the overelaboration of detail.

In Toscanella's *Bellezze* a brief allegory is prefixed to each canto. Collected together they are by no means consistent; indeed Fornari also admits interpretations which are inconsistent with one another—but have not the critics of Spenser done the same? Besides inconsistencies, it very soon appears that

¹⁶ Warton: *Observations on the Fairy Queen*, Vol. II, pp. 76-7.

¹⁷ Fornari: *Spositione sopra L'Orlando Furioso di M. Ludovico Ariosto*, Florence, 1549.

¹⁸ Toscanella: *Bellezze del Furioso di M. Ludovico Ariosto*, Venice, 1574.

what both Toscanella and Porcacchi,¹⁹ who publishes an allegory in an edition of the *Furioso* in 1612, mean by allegory, is often merely the moral lesson that may be derived from the incidents. The characters are not embodied virtues and vices, neither are their actions symbolic of spiritual experiences; they are often only men and women who offer examples of virtue or vice, prudence or folly, from which the observer may derive profit.

Fornari as the first in the field is the most exhaustive of these commentators; he displays, if sometimes too much ingenuity, considerable insight also. His method is plainly Neoplatonic. There are three worlds: the super-celestial, the celestial, the sublunary in which we live; some add a fourth, the human body. Nothing in one world is without a corresponding something in each of the others, as, for instance: the body has heat; the sublunary world, fire; the celestial, the sun; and the super-celestial, the seraphic intellect. Only one who knows these correspondences is able to expound an allegory. Poets—who, we are to suppose, go about with these correspondences at their fingers' ends—hide their philosophy under a figure to remove it from the view of the wilfully careless, and also to allure the weak and timid to receive the bitter medicine of wisdom. Fornari is moved to write by a fear lest the unlearned, intent only on "the sweet harmony of words and delightful inventions of the story," remain content and seek to mount no higher "with the wings of the intellect." Besides the allegory and the comments, he collects into a brief essay the contemporary events and persons to which he claims various incidents in the story refer. These allusions are only incidental, by no means amounting to a continuous allegory.

Toscanella, following at an interval of twenty-five years, knows the work of his predecessor, and appears sedulously to avoid repetition. At least, where the temptation would naturally be strongest because the allegory is obvious and interesting, Toscanella finds some other point in the narrative to moralize and ignores those touched by Fornari; or if he interprets the same incidents, he strives to give them a slightly different turn, as if he were trying to be original. His explanations are on the whole less interesting than Fornari's. In spite of divergences, however, there are numerous and substantial points of agreement. To his work Toscanella prefixes a dedicatory preface. After eulogizing the office of poets in general as teachers of morality and the secrets of nature, and mentioning, of course, Homer and Virgil as "spurs to virtue and bridles to vice," he asserts that a similar didactic intention governs Ariosto, who presents a mirror of the actions of men worthy of praise or blame, in order to teach men to live well. All of these poets "in various individuals represented various virtues, in this, one, in that, another, to form a man four-square and perfect of them all, which four-square and perfect man is he who is adorned with all the virtues." We might hope that in the exposition to follow, in which, according to his table, Orlando is the example of the perfect captain, we might get

¹⁹ *Orlando Furioso di M. Ludovico Ariosto, le Nuove Allegorie e Annotationi di M. Tomaso Porcacchi*, Venice, 1612.

some approximation to this man four-square and perfect pointed out, but Toscanella apparently introduces him only to secure a skillful transition to the flattery of his patron, Francesco Maria Feltrio della Rovere, Prince of Urbino, who is described in the rest of the preface as the pattern of prudence, magnanimity, magnificence, courage, temperance, and justice in which are included liberality and religious zeal. In a second preface to the readers, Toscanella assures us again that Ariosto wrote to instruct, under a cloak of fiction, and that he figures forth the Italian wars of his own day in many of the battles he describes. It is quite certain that he at least drew on his own experience and observation for many of the details.

According to Schoembs,²⁰ the edition which Harington used for his translation of the *Furioso* was issued by Porro in 1584, with notes by Fornari. This edition I have not seen. It quite evidently follows the 1549 commentary closely, if we may judge from Harington's notes.

The edition "with a new allegory by Tomaso Porcacchi," 1612, too late for Spenser, is chiefly interesting as a product of previous tendencies. There is almost nothing "new" in Porcacchi's allegory; it is much condensed, a very brief paragraph at the beginning of each canto; usually it is a literal translation of Fornari, or a condensed translation; occasionally there are changes which possibly indicate the influence of Toscanella, but where these agree with Harington, we may assume that the change has appeared in the 1584 edition. Only very rarely is there a point quite different from either of the two earlier critics. The preface, also briefer than the earlier ones, follows the usual line of enumerating all the virtues and their opposite vices as exemplified in the poem, and claiming that there is no book "in which with more profit, with greater delight, one may learn what should be shunned, what followed."

The interesting feature of all this is that partly perhaps as the result of controversy, partly merely as the result of editorial labors, a tradition was growing up during Spenser's lifetime, pretty well stereotyped by 1590—a tradition as to how one was to read and interpret his Ariosto, what hidden truths were to be discovered therein, as we today, in turn, inherit traditions concerning the *Faerie Queene*.

To this tradition, the publication in 1581 of *La Gerusalemme Liberata* with Tasso's own interpretation of his characters as moral virtues in battle with evil, could but add strength.²¹ Whether Tasso devised the poem first and the allegory afterwards or the reverse, there is much more allegorical quality in his work than in Ariosto's. We are grateful to him for providing his own interpretation, even though it has not precluded the controversies of critics as to whether he meant what he said. It furnishes a clear-cut, definite conception of the epic as allegory.

²⁰ Jakob Schoembs: *Ariosto's Orlando Furioso in der Englischen Literatur des Zeitalters der Elizabeth*, Soden a. T., 1898.

²¹ Tasso: *Jerusalem Delivered*, translated by Fairfax, edition by Morley, 1890.

In the meantime, how was Ariosto being received in England? There is every reason to believe that he flourished as a moral and didactic poet and probably as an allegorist also.

The years immediately preceding the publication of Harington's *Furioso* and the first three books of Spenser's *Faerie Queene* witnessed the appearance of an interesting series of critical pamphlets, the beginnings of English literary criticism: Gascoigne's *Notes of Instruction in English Verse*, 1575; Gosson's *School of Abuse*, 1579; Sidney's *Apologie for Poetrie*, 1581 (?); Webbe's *Discourse of English Poetrie*, 1586; and Puttenham's *Art of English Poesie*, 1589, to which may be added Lodge's reply to Gosson, probably 1579-80. Harington's *Apologie*, prefixed to his translation of Ariosto in 1591, follows and echoes them. The discussion of meter which concerns Gascoigne, Webbe, and Puttenham, is beside the question for us here, but not so the discourses on the purpose and reason for being of poetry, and its kinds, for these "shadowy daggers" include the old, well-known weapon of defense, allegory. Gosson's attack, directed principally at the stage, and avowedly not wholly at the plays themselves, but at social abuses arising from the gathering of crowds in places of amusement, nevertheless strays from its point to decry the abuses of poetry, and apparently, in spite of the author's occasional recantations, poetry itself in general. At one point he takes a shot at the old custom of allegorical interpretations, those of Maxentius Tyrius in particular, insisting that they constitute no real defense. "You will smile, I am sure, if you read it, to see how this morall philosopher toyles too draw the Lyons skin upon Aesops Asse." Except that Gosson uses constantly, to enforce his points, figures drawn from the allegorizations he condemns, he occupies an orthodox Puritan position.

Sidney and his successors, Webbe and Puttenham, reply, and their counter contentions have many points in common, among them the disquisitions on poet, maker, and *vates*, the proof of the high estimation in which poets of ancient days were held, and the claim of moral edification as one of the ends of poetry. To the attack on allegorization there is no direct reply, but there is a good deal by implication. Gascoigne, who wrote before Gosson, includes allegory as a suitable device for love poetry—he uses it so himself. Lodge, who has the usual citations to show the high esteem in which poetry was held by the ancients, and anticipates Sidney in claiming the example of holy writ, introduces the old argument that poetry contains a meaning not at once evident to the unlearned. This is of course allegory; and this exact idea not only occurs often enough before Lodge but continues long after. It is, however, only re-asserting the point your opponent has attacked; Lodge does not develop it. Sidney, whose work excels all the others in spirit, if not in content, speaks much of the value of examples presented in poetry, especially Aeneas, Ulysses, Achilles, and Orlando. He even cites, in a notable passage, especial men as patterns of particular virtues, as Ulysses of wisdom and temperance, Achilles of valor, Nisus and Euryalus of friendship; and, again, declares: "Truely I have knowen men that even with reading Amadis de Gaule (which God knoweth

wanteth much of a perfect Poesie) have found their harts mooved to the exercise of courtesie, liberalitie, and especially courage." But all this is not necessarily allegory, still less allegorization. Sidney comments directly on the type in discussing Aesop's fables—one wonders whether with reference to Gosson's gibe—"whose pretty allegories, stealing under the formall tales of Beasts, make many, more beastly then Beasts, begin to heare the sound of vertue from these dumbe speakers," this following hard upon a reference to the instructing parables of the Gospels. There are several sentences later which lead one to suspect that Sidney made no sharp distinction in his mind between moral example and allegory in the more formal sense of the term. Indeed there is a shadowy debatable ground in which one may pass readily from one to the other. Sidney, moreover, like the Italians, is both an Aristotelian and a Platonist. In his discussion of imitation, with delight and teaching as its aim, he instances the painter who depicts Lucretia, "Wherein he painteth not Lucrecia whom he never sawe, but painteth the outwarde beauty of such a vertue." This type of imitation constitutes the truth of poetry, a truth higher than fact. "If then, a man can arive at that child's age to know that the Poets persons and dooings are but pictures what should be and not stories what have beene, they will never give the lye to things not affirmatively, but allegorically and figurativelie written." So finally he urges his readers "To beleieve with me that there are many misteries contained in Poetrie, which of purpose were written darkely, least by prophane wits, it should be abused."

Webbe is a shade more outspoken. He too affirms that esoteric knowledge lies hidden in poetry, cites Aeneas, Ulysses, and the rest, but not Orlando, and even claims that the *Metamorphoses*, "being moralized according to his meaning, and the truth of every tale being discovered, it is a worke of exceeding wysedome and sound judgment." Eclogues, especially Virgil's and Spenser's, he regards as a "cloake of simplicity" under which not only praise of friends but protests against abuses are covertly conveyed.

Puttenham has a similar view of eclogues, a similar familiarity with the allegorization of myths, but his most interesting contribution is the definition of allegory in the list of one hundred and twenty figures which he furnishes, with examples, in his third book; not that it is either new or original, but that it gives an explicit idea of what was meant by allegory when Spenser was writing. Allegory or false-semblant is identified with metaphor, but since it extends to "whole and large speaches, it maketh the figure allegorie to be called a long and perpetuall metaphore". Whereupon follow examples chiefly from love poems, perhaps because of their brevity. A mixed allegory is one in which the idea is only half concealed; so "clouds of care" and similar expressions in a series form a mixed allegory.²² Though today we might have difficulty in sharply delimiting the province of allegory, it must be clear that

²² Cf. Wilson: *Arte of Rhetorique*, 1560; Caro, *Apologia dei Academici dei Banchi*, Rome, 1555.

when it is extended to all metaphor of more than a single word's compass by the rhetoricians, and to every moral aspect of incident by the critics, a kind of thinking is prevalent which affords wide latitude to the poet.

The habit and theory of viewing the epic as allegory has still sufficient vitality in 1614-15 to draw from Chapman this characteristic summing up: "Nor is this all-comprising Poesy fantastic or mere fictive; but the most material and doctrinal illations of truth, both for all manly information of manners in the young, all prescription of justice and even Christian piety in the most grave and high governed. To illustrate both which, in both kinds, with all height of expression, the Poet creates both a body and a soul in them. Wherein if the body (being the letter or history) seems fictive and beyond possibility to bring it into act, the sense then and allegory, which is the soul, is to be sought, which intends a more eminent expresseure of Virtue for her loveliness, and Vice for her ugliness, in their several effects, going beyond the life than any art within life can possibly delineate." The *Iliad* is thus an allegory of wrath, "fervor and fashion of outward fortitude to all possible height of heroical action"; the *Odyssey* of "the mind's inward, constant, and unconquered empire unbroken, unaltered, with any tyrannous infliction." Thus we have again the traditional couple of active and contemplative life, private and political man, and nobly phrased. Finally, with the proud esoterism of all the school, he declares: "Poetry is the flower of the Sun, and disdains to open to the eye of a candle."²³

To this series of critical essays, Harington adds in 1591 the preface to his translation of *Orlanda Furioso*, called, according to the fashion, *An Apologie for Poetrie*. This apology has three parts, a general defense of poetry, a defense of Ariosto in particular, and a defense of Harington himself as translator. The first of these acknowledges acquaintance with Sidney and Puttenham, and follows rather closely the general lines of previous apologies. Certain questions are put aside as having been sufficiently treated by his predecessors; in addition, the most complete and explicit statement of the allegorical method of interpretation is made, with all its four divisions, literal, moral, allegorical, and anagogic, which Harington illustrates by application to the Perseus myth from Ovid. This element in his apology is probably an echo of Fornari, but phrased according to common use in England.

The second part of his discourse, the defense of Ariosto, begins with a comparison of Ariosto and Virgil as writers of historical epic praising a particular family by praise of their ancestors, with the balance inclining in favor of Ariosto who treats a Christian theme. He defends Ariosto's morality, claiming—and justly so—that his examples of lust and luxury are not enticing, that he is more decorous than Chaucer; but, doubting whether his readers will

²³ Cf. Stanyhurst, dedication to Lord Dunsany of his *Translation of the First Four Books of the Aeneis*, and Ascham: *The Scholemaster*, pp. 223 ff. of the Cambridge U. Press edition, 1904. Chapman: *Iliads of Homer*, 2 vols., and *Odysseys of Homer*, 2 vols., ed. Hooper, London, 1897.

be altogether sincerely shocked by the prospect of offenses, he suspects them of turning hastily to all the most reprehensible passages with unseemly curiosity to read those first!

He next points out that Ariosto differs from Homer and Virgil because one age differs from another. This portion of his defense—even to the examples of extraneous incident in Homer, the story of Bellerophon in the conversation of Diomed and Glaucus, and Ulysses' dialogue with the hog,²⁴—is translated almost word for word from Fornari. So too are the following topics of discussion, the credibility and verisimilitude of the supernatural as used by Ariosto, his excellence in peripetia or "variety of sudden fortunes," in the abundance of passions well expressed, and his defense of Ariosto's digressions with moralizing in his own person. These, says Harington, not here quoting Fornari's words, though supporting his opinion, are like pleasant seats beside a long road, overshadowed by trees which offer with shade, refreshing fruit. ✓ Of this portion of his *Apologie*, practically all of the ideas, and a considerable number of sentences are taken directly from Fornari's *Apologia* prefixed to his *Exposition*. The silent appropriation is, however, not so interesting as the silent omissions. Where Fornari uses a page, Harington selects a sentence; what he omits is the exposition of Aristotle's *Poetics* with detailed application and refitting to Ariosto's practice. The specific details of the controversy have no interest for Harington, or he expects them to have none for his English audience. Only objections obvious enough to "the man in the street" interest him. The budding English school of critics are not yet enmeshed in the critical tangle.

In the third portion of his *Apologie*, there is some heed to what these critics are interested in—questions of rhymes, double and triple, with Sidney's example as authority. He defends his abridgment of certain portions of the text, and his notes, especially the personal anecdote sometimes injected into them: "True it is, I added some notes to the end of every Canto, even as if some of my friends and my selfe reading it together (and so it fell out indeed many times) had after debated upon them what had beene most worthy consideration in them, and so oft times immediatly I set it down." We wish that this represented his actual practice more fully than it does, and that he had set down also the names of the friends with whom he debated, and distributed to them their opinions. But the bulk of his notes are in fact translations from Fornari, though the arrangement into moral, historical, allegoric, and allusive divisions may be his own. Here and there, however, are insertions plainly original, revealing an engaging personality, shrewdly observant of the world, not without sturdy, gentlemanly standards of conduct, humorous, kindly, sociable, and quite at home in the cultured circle of poets and men of letters about the court.

We would like to think of Spenser joining in those discussions of which we here and there get echoes in the notes, and it is barely possible that he may

²⁴ This is the source of Spenser's "Let Gryll be Gryll and have his hoggish mind," not in Homer, but in a dialogue of Plutarch. See Warton, II, p. 164.

have done so. We know that he was in London in the fall and winter of 1589-90, but we do not know quite when in the period between 1584 and 1591 the *Furioso* was translated. There is a reference to the *Faerie Queene* in the notes to the forty-third canto, so that the previous portions of the translation may have been going on when Spenser came to London. Harington may have written in London, or he may have retired to his estate at Kelston near Bath. The tradition represents him as circulating his English version of the lascivious tale of Giocondo among Elizabeth's maids of honor; whereupon the Queen, incensed at his choice of the most offensive canto, commanded him to translate the other forty-five before venturing to appear again at court. Harington took some pains with the translation; he strove to give his work a semblance, at least, of erudition, with notes, an *Apologie*, an exposition of the allegory, an index, and marginal references; he had it embellished with engravings in imitation of Porro's edition; altogether he felt that it was an achievement of which he could continue to be proud. But still, Harington wielded a facile pen, and he would be likely—if there is anything in the legend—to wish to re-establish himself in the Queen's favor as soon as possible. He had long been familiar with the *Furioso*; he tells us that he had inherited from his father the translation of the first stanza of Canto XIX, which the elder Harington had applied to the Admiral Seymour "both in his life and in his death."²⁵ It is to be remembered that the erudite features of the book are mostly copied; and there are signs of haste towards the end. The notes to the last cantos are abbreviated considerably; in some cases they almost disappear; in others the author breaks away from his model, and gives us, to our delight, gossip chat of his own, remote enough at times from the canto in hand. In the comment on Canto XXXII, he tells us that the first fifty stanzas are by his brother: "These are mine, for they were given me by my brother (Francis Harington) who made them for a prooffe of his veine in this kind; and if his sloth had not bin as blame-worthy as his skill is praise-worthy, he had eased me of much of the paine that I tooke with the rest; and me thinks when I read his and mine owne together, the phrase agrees so well, as it were two brothers." It sounds as if he would have welcomed some relief from a task now growing irksome. The cantos are throughout abridged; the spirit and the narrative of events are preserved, but digressions, especially those celebrating the House of Este, are condensed, sometimes omitted, and there is no attempt to reproduce the language of Ariosto in detail. Altogether it is quite possible that the poem was translated within a year or two of its publication, and Harington could therefore have met Spenser during his stay in London, the more easily as he seems to have known Raleigh. Although Spenser had been absent ten years, he did not return to London an unknown man, for the critics had been continually recurring to *The Shepheardes Calendar* with warmest praise, and some por-

²⁵ Admiral Seymour was put to death in 1549; the elder Harington, who seems to have faithfully cherished his memory throughout his own life, died in 1582. The date of his translation of the stanza is unknown.

tions of the *Faerie Queene* may already have circulated privately. Harington, as the younger man and a literary enthusiast, would, one imagines, have lost no time in seeking an introduction to this most famous poet of his day. But all this is merely speculation.²⁶

When Harington brought out his work, Ariosto's poem was already well known to lovers of Italian poetry in England, for one tale, that of Ariodante and Ginevra, had been twice translated before Harington's version, and had been made the subject of a play, while as early as 1572, two or three references to Angelica present her as the type of pride, or prudishness, that by Gascoigne carrying a gloss which remarks upon her choice at last of "a poore serving man."²⁷ There is in Scottish a curious version of the Orlando-Angelica romance by John Stewart of Baldynneis, who dedicates his work to James VI. It dates about ten years earlier than Harington's translation, but seems not to have been printed for general circulation, and was probably unknown either to Harington or to Spenser.²⁸ It affords interesting testimony to the popularity of the tale, however. Stewart excludes from his "Abridgment," as he calls it, everything not directly connected with Angelica and Orlando, whose romance he pursues to the point where Angelica departs with Medoro for the Orient. Here he breaks off, wearied with his task, and brings all to a close with a prophecy that Orlando will get his reason back through the intervention of St. John and Asolfo. What Schoembs calls an "abgeschmackte Moralizierung" in his conclusion is really a very free rendering of Canto XXXIV, stanzas 62-66, in which Ariosto supplies all the ammunition for the "Moralizierung" and a couple of Scriptural examples—not, however, the ones that Stewart elaborates. The version is further interesting because in the portions of the story used by Stewart occurs the incident of the friar which Professor Cory calls the ugliest spot in Ariosto.²⁹ Harington is criticized by Professor Dodge³⁰ for rendering such spots with particularity and detail while condensing or omitting other, innocent descriptions. But Stewart is just as detailed as Harington, and Stewart is entirely without that cynical, tongue-in-cheek attitude toward his royal patron and courtly Presbyterian circle which Harington occasionally reveals toward his. We may conclude that in the sixteenth century, Ariosto could be read unexpurgated even by religious minds, without pious horror, or indeed any especial moral excitement.

In his prefatory letter to Sir Walter Raleigh, Spenser announces his allegorical purpose, "to fashion a gentleman or noble person in vertuous and gentle discipline", and clearly regards himself as moving in the current of tradition: "In which I have followed all the antique Poets historicall; first Homere, who

²⁶ Harington's *Orlando Furioso* was published in 1591, 1607, and 1634. The last is the edition used in this essay.

²⁷ Schoembs, pp. 3-5, and 99 ff; Gascoigne, *The Posies*, Cambridge University Press, 1907, p. 458.

²⁸ J. Stewart: *An Abridgement of Roland Furious*, Scot. Text Soc., Vol. 5, Part 2, 1913.

²⁹ H. E. Cory: *Edmund Spenser, a Critical Study*, p. 142.

³⁰ R. E. Neil Dodge: *Spenser's Imitations from Ariosto*, in P. M. L. A., 1897.

in the persons of Agamemnon and Ulysses hath ensampled a good governour and a vertuous man, the one in his Ilias, the other in his Odysseis: then Virgil, whose like intention was to doe in the person of Aeneas: after him Ariosto comprised them both in his Orlando; and lastly Tasso dissevered them againe, and formed both parts in two persons, namely, that part which they in Philosophy call Ethice or vertues of a private man, coloured in his Rinaldo; the other named Politice in his Godfredo. By ensample of which excellent Poets, I labour to pourtraict in Arthure, before he was king, the image of a brave knight, perfected in the twelve private morall vertues, as Aristotle hath devised; the which is the purpose of these first twelve books: which if I find to be well accepted, I may be perhaps encouraged to frame the other part of polliticke vertues in his person after that hee came to be king."

Here is the old theory of the interpretation of the epic: once more Homer and Virgil figure forth the active and the contemplative man, and Ariosto is accepted on the same basis, for the conception of Orlando might be quoted from Toscanella's table, where he is the pattern of the perfect captain. As among the Italian critics, Aristotle and Plato join hands, for we hear of the private and the public man in Tasso, who really follows Plato very closely, and in the next breath Aristotle is devising the twelve moral virtues; perhaps we are to understand that he has somewhere defined an equal number of politic ones. Had Spenser the *Politics* in mind? But nothing could be further from an exposition of political duty; it has even been questioned whether twelve moral virtues can be discovered in the *Ethics*. However, Spenser is not here unfolding a philosophy, but only repeating a formula which will be accepted by his contemporaries without criticism. Incidentally, by implication, he names several of his principal sources, Homer, Virgil, Ariosto, Tasso, Malory, Aristotle—a goodly array, a one-foot shelf to solace the ten years' exile by Mulla, under Arlo Hill.

III

SPENSER'S USE OF THE GENUINE ALLEGORY IN ARIOSTO

As he studied Ariosto, what influence did that poet's allegory, and the allegorical interpretations put upon him by others have on Spenser's own creations? Did he put it all aside as irrelevant? Did he accept only to alter, to overgo Ariosto as an allegorist? Was he stimulated to further pondering of the problems of human experience?

Let us first examine those parts of Ariosto's work which are undeniably allegorical, of which the most considerable instance is the temptation of the temperate man, in Cantos VI, VII, VIII, and X.

In the *Furioso*, the young knight, Ruggiero, mounted on the Hippogriff, which he cannot control, is borne over land and sea to the island kingdom of Alcina, far off in the Atlantic. On dismounting, he ties his winged steed to a myrtle tree, while he refreshes himself at a nearby stream. The horse tears the branches of the tree, which laments aloud. Ruggiero, hastening to amend his unwitting cruelty, learns that the tree is the English prince, Astolfo, who, through curiosity, had followed Alcina upon a seeming island, really a monstrous whale, and was brought to this kingdom over the stormy waves. He warns Ruggiero from his own experience, to shun the wiles of the enchantress, who transforms her discarded lovers into stocks and stones, or beasts. The young knight accordingly sets out resolved to avoid the borders of Alcina's city and to take the steep and stony path that leads to the citadel of her sister, Logostilla. As he goes forward on foot, leading his ungovernable steed, he encounters a rabblement of beast-headed men. While he is battling valiantly against them, two fair and beautiful ladies ride out from Alcina's city, and the throng of wretches retreats. The ladies commend Ruggiero's prowess and beseech him to undertake the conquest of a monstrous hag, Eriphile, Avarice, who keeps a bridge before the city. Of course the hero consents, and having overcome the hideous creature, follows his guides into Alcina's courts without further struggle. He is received with honor, and becomes the queen's favored lover. Meanwhile his betrothed, Bradamante, has sought him, sorrowing, and at length sends Melissa, the sorceress, to his rescue, with a magic ring, which reveals to him the real ugliness beneath Alcina's seeming beauty. Ruggiero flees from the palace of pleasure, but having learned to distrust the Hippogriff, he chooses this time an ordinary horse. Before he has gone far, he is attacked by Alcina's huntsman with his horse, dog, and falcon, but he repels them and follows a toilsome path through brambles, along the burning sands of the sea-shore, where in the noon-day heat of the journey, three ladies meet and seek to beguile him with refreshing wine and soft repose. When he refuses their proffers, they revile him, but he pushes on. Within sight of Logostilla's capital, he is met and ferried across the stream that bars his way, by an aged and wise pilot. He is received graciously, and sojourns in that

realm, learning there to guide the winged horse, before so unmanageable, for the Hippogriff has been ridden to the citadel by Melissa, carrying with her Astolfo, released from enchantment.

Fornari explains that as Ruggiero is, or becomes, the continent man, his road to temperance is more painful than that of Astolfo, who is naturally temperate, and is misled, not by his appetites, but by curiosity. The finest thing in Ariosto's allegory is his description of this path to Wisdom, beset with bitter conflict, burning thirst, fatigue, and the old temptations in their most seductive form. Spenser, who receives from this tale a number of hints for his Book of Temperance, is apparently insensible to this opportunity. His treatment of the second of his virtues, unlike that of Holiness, is, however, conceived in too static a form for him to make use of Ariosto's plan. Guyon is not, in most of his adventures, the man learning self-control by painful effort. He has already accepted Reason as his guide and looks upon all the passions that cross his path with a touch of scornful aloofness. With this basic alteration in the plan, however, Spenser uses much of Ariosto's material. Like Ruggiero, Guyon has a fiery, mettlesome horse, but it is not winged. Throughout the book he does not ride it, for it was stolen from him while he was seeking to aid Amavia at the spring, and only in the Fifth Book does he recover it from the thief Braggadocchio. The horses in Ariosto—the Hippogriff, Bayardo, Brigliadoro—mean, or are interpreted to mean, appetitive desire. Spenser undoubtedly took Brigadore from Ariosto—the name, Golden Bridle, probably delighting him as a follower of Aristotle—and he took it with the allegorical meaning, at least suggested by Ariosto:

Quantunque debil freno a mezzo il corso
Animoso destrier spesso raccolga,
Raro è però che di ragione il morso
Libidinosa furia addietro volga,
Quando li piacer ha in pronto.

Spenser apparently intends to tell us that the Temperate Man must practice abstinence until his virtue is full grown; then his right to his desires is proved by his ability to govern them. But compared to Ruggiero's mad flight across Europe, and his cautious leading of the Hippogriff as he first sets out from the sea-shore for Logostilla's realm, Spenser's incident of the theft of Brigadore and its tardy recovery is tame, and rather obscure. He compensates for the weakness, however, in his comic picture of Braggadocchio, mounted on a steed that he does not own—boasting of amorous passions that he does not feel—and fleeing at the first hint of opposition.

The tragedy of Mordaunt and Amavia may have been suggested by Ariosto. Mordaunt, like Ruggiero, abandons his rightful lady for the enchantress; like Bradamante, Amavia wanders in search of him; as Melissa appeals to Ruggiero's pride in the children one day to be his, so Amavia carries with her on her sorrowful journey Mordaunt's infant son. But the English, unlike

but not of 10
 pin - of
 wrath.

✓ the Italian poet, sees only tragedy as the outcome of the father's sin. Even the innocent child bears the taint of it. It may be this sterner view that prevents Spenser from picturing a Guyon stumbling, falling, and struggling up again from the Slough of Despond to the crest of the Hill Difficulty.

The House of Medina, the Golden Mean, seems to be an embodiment of Aristotle's central idea of virtue, but there are some suggestions in it of something else, resemblances to the ecclesiastical policy pursued in England, the middle course Elizabeth held between the warring factions, in the endeavor to secure peace:

But lovely concord, and most sacred peace,
 Doth nourish vertue, and fast friendship breeds,
 Weake she makes strong, and strong thing does increase,
 Till it the pitch of highest praise exceeds.

There is a hint in the following lines of debt to Ariosto:

Therein three sisters dwelt of sundry sort,
 The children of one sire by mothers three;
 Who dying whylome did divide this fort
 To them by equal shares in equal fee:
 But stryfull mind and diverse qualitee
 Drew them in parts and each made others foe:
 Still did they strive and daily disagree;
 The eldest did against the youngest goe,
 And both against the middest meant to worken woe.

Now Ariosto, in his description of Alcina's island, tells us that she possessed the greater part of it, having usurped what rightfully belonged to Logostilla, the sole heir, as the only legitimate daughter of her father. This Logostilla lived in chastity, while her two sisters, Alcina and Fata Morgana, born of incest, were vicious and wicked in their lives. They had conspired together, had brought an army against their sister, and had taken from her all her territory except a promontory cut off from the rest by a gulf of sea and uninhabitable mountains, as Scotland is separated from England. When we turn to Fornari, we learn that Logostilla represents the true faith, while the two bastards are respectively the Jewish and Mohammedan sects. This explanation impressed Harington, for he adds: "And there is another cosen of theirs called heresie, and the grandsire of them all, called Atheism that are of late very busie with her." The grandsire reminds one of Spenser's Aveugle, of whom Harington also may be thinking, but of this we shall see other hints later. I do not think the explanation of Ariosto would occur to the reader unaided, at least today. If Spenser used an edition with Fornari's notes, as is not unlikely, he must have been struck by the possibility of applying this figure of the three discordant faiths to England, an impression which the geographical comparison in Ariosto's description would fix in his mind. In this case he has elaborated into a situation what in the *Furioso* is merely a passing reference. It is to be noted

that he has changed the rival sisters from bastards to equal heirs of the patrimony. Does Spenser really mean that all three creeds are of equal validity and are to live in tolerance and concord? If so, he is more liberal than was usual in his day.

Between Ruggiero's mounting the winged horse, and his arrival in Alcina's island, Ariosto injects the story of Ariodante and Ginevra, as we have seen, one of the most popular of his episodes with English readers. Spenser also turns to this tale on leaving the castle of Medina. It becomes with him the tragedy of Phaon. Of this romance Harington remarks: "Allegory there is none in this booke at all". Morally, Ariodante is an example of credulous jealousy, and his brother Lurcanio, who denounces Ginevra, exhibits the vehemence of wrong surmise. In this interpretation Harington and Toscanella agree. Spenser alters the situation found in all the other versions of the story by making Phaon the sole witness of the lady's fancied treachery; thus he combines in one person the whole gamut of passions, "wrath, gelosy, grieve, love", and greatly intensifies the emotion. He is not, however, altogether successful in turning this into part of his allegory, for the Temperate Man is apparently presented as binding another's rage, not his own, and this is rather the office of justice than of temperance.

At this point, Spenser, who has many kinds of intemperance to treat besides excessive indulgence in amorous passion, departs decidedly from Ariosto's allegory. In the five succeeding cantos there is nothing of importance from the *Furioso*. These are the cantos that relate the struggles with Pyrochles and Cymochles, the conversation with Phaedria, and the visit to the cave of Mammon, the court of Philotime, and the gardens of Proserpine.

When we pass on to the castle of Alma, we find about it the beast-headed throng of monsters that beset Ruggiero's path when he first turned aside from entering in at Alcina's gates, and took the road to Logostilla's kingdom. Spenser elaborates the description in more detail than Ariosto. He omits, it is true, the beasts upon which Ariosto's rabble are mounted, but he draws up his misshapen sins in squadrons and directs them against the portals of the five senses; upon them he confers the character of shades that, wounded, neither bleed nor die; and whereas Ariosto makes swollen Sloth the captain of the rout—not inaptly, considering his whole design—Spenser elects his opposite, a lean, strenuous, terrifying ghost:

As pale and wan as ashes was his looke;
His body leane and meagre as a rake,
And skin all withered as a dried snake,
That seemed to tremble evermore and quake;
All in a canvas thin he was bedight,
And girded with a belt of twisted brake;
Upon his head he wore a Helmet light,
Made of a dead man's skull, that seemed a ghastly sight.

double
meaning

This is not
not allegory
but remains
of type

It seems from this and the description of his arrows against whose wounds salves and medicines are of no avail, that Spenser means death, or deadly sin. Arthur, the sum of all the virtues, alone is strong enough to overcome this fiend. Even he is impeded by human impotence and impatience. Spenser goes deeper than Ariosto, but the specific feature borrowed is not much improved, and it has not occurred to him to connect these monsters with Alcina's transformed lovers. It remained for Milton to extract the essence of truth from this conception. We may question also whether the deadly struggle between Arthur and Maleger has anything to do with temperance.

In the Castle of Alma there is so strong a similarity to the House of Medina as to confuse one's memory; both seem to be variations on one theme, as indeed Spenser has borrowed from the same episode in Ariosto for both. According to Harington, Logostilla's kingdom represents, from one viewpoint, the human body, of which the passions have possessed themselves, leaving only the one fort to reason. I do not find this in Fornari, Toscanella, or Porcacchi, and am unable to determine whether Harington got it from the 1584 edition, invented it himself, or possibly took it from the *Faerie Queene*. It is, however, the second point in this allegory in which Harington agrees with Spenser and with none of the Italian critics.

Except the black-robed pilot Reason, who directs Guyon's voyage across the wide and perilous waters to Acrasia's bower, there is in the Twelfth Canto little that may be traced to Ariosto. Rather the voyagings of Ulysses have been called into requisition. In the final disposal of the enchantress there is a marked difference. The transformed lovers are restored to their former shapes, without resistance in Ariosto, but in Spenser with wrath, with shame, and in one case at least with repinings and revilings. The enchantress Alcina, shorn of all her beauties by the magic ring, shows herself shrunken, old, and ugly, but Acrasia, all her beauty unimpaired, is bound and sent to the *Faerie Queene* for judgment. Ariosto tells us that Alcina's palace stood untenanted while she and all her forces pursued Ruggiero, and that when he at last escaped them, she wished to destroy herself. In Spenser's allegory, on the other hand, Guyon and the Palmer lay waste the Bower of Bliss. Spenser has transferred to another point the revelation of Alcina's infirmities; in Duessa he horribly increases the hideousness of the exposure. It is as if Ariosto were saying: Sensual pleasure is not truly pleasure; seen aright it is disgusting; when we turn resolutely from its presence, it ceases to exist, for its life is only in our submission to it. And this is consistent psychology. But Spenser, with an intenser passion, replies: Falsehood, in truth, is ugly; but pleasure of whatever sort is still pleasure; we cannot wait for the reaction of satiated appetite to free us; we must learn to look upon it in all its beauty and allurements and bind it with chains of steel. Between these two views there is the width of Europe. Spenser's morality is naturally the more accordant to our northern taste, but why does he feel it necessary to destroy the Bower of Bliss? If Acrasia is to be bound, if we are to see her as alluring as ever, but conquered,

why mutilate the mere physical, insensible scene of her enchantments, powerless if its tutelary genius is subdued? This seems like a strain of image-breaking Puritanism overcoming the artist.

Of the other allegorical episodes in Ariosto, Astolfo's journey to the Earthly Paradise and to the Moon, with its attendant miracles, is the most extended. Here Spenser borrows nothing, nor is it at all remarkable that he abstains, for there is a sportive, at times satirical, vein in this allegory distinctly unsuitable to Spenser's plan. Nor can I agree with Warton's surmise that the creature called Avarice has lent some qualities to the Blatant Beast, so obviously identical with the Questing Beast of Malory. Moreover, if Spenser received any hints for the Cave of Morpheus from Ariosto's cave of Sleep, the debt cannot be proved, for the details in the two are different, Spenser's being much superior. The remaining instances of allegory are likewise unfruitful.

There is a kind of intermediary group of objects that it may be appropriate to discuss here—the magic ring, the shield, the horn. As the ring, which Ariosto himself calls the ring of reason, is not used by Spenser at all, we need not consider the commentators' difficulties with it,—they have troubles enough with the "lusty, lusty horn." Toscanella says that this horn means the reputation of a great knight for prowess, which is heard throughout the world and terrifies cowards, but he does not labor to explain why it should lose its voice entirely just when the knight has performed his most signal exploit. Fornari interprets the horn as eloquence, the divine fire of the true orator. This is evident because Astolfo uses it to drive Caligorant into his own net, Caligorant being taken for a cunning sophist and his net for false reasoning.³¹ Again he blows it, the stern voice of justice, to frighten the harpies from Senapo's palace—those parasite and cormorant ministers of a blind king. All this is very pretty, but upon another occasion when Astolfo blows upon the horn, all his friends as well as foes flee from the market place of Laiazzo and never pause for breath until they have put several leagues of sea between themselves and the orator, and what are we to make of the fact that in the same Moon-heaven where Astolfo finds again that part of his brains which he had, without knowing it, lost upon earth, his horn is finally deprived of its sound altogether? Fornari is puzzled by this; we only regret that he cannot enjoy with us the humor he unconsciously attributes to Ariosto. This horn is perhaps the same that Timias uses:

Was never wight that heard that shrilling sownd
But trembling feare did feel in every vaine;
Three miles it might be easy heard arownd,
And Echoes three aunswered it selfe againe:
No false enchauntment, nor deceptfull traine,
Might once abide the terror of that blast,

³¹ This may be the net of Malengin, but there are no details in common to the two incidents except the use of a net. The fight with Malengin seems to have been modeled after a fox hunt.

But presently was void and wholly vaine:
 No gate so strong, no locke so firme and fast,
 But with that percing noise flew open quite or brast.

This appears to mean the sound of truth, as Fornari imagines it, but Spenser did not need to get it from Ariosto, for he must have known Huon's magic horn, and no doubt had heard

the sound of that dread horn
 By Fontarabia's echoes borne.

The claim to the shield is better established, as there is a moment in Ruggiero's fight with several knights before Pinnabello's castle when the shield is accidentally uncovered, just as it is in Arthur's battle with Orgoglio, and again in tilt with Corflambo. This shield, according to Fornari, represents the light of Illuminating Grace—that is, when Ruggiero uses it to abash Alcina's huntsman, horse, dog, and hawk, this is its significance, but on other occasions it means fraud and deceit in a combat, or the bright, sparkling light of ladies' eyes! Perhaps if we knew all the "correspondences" of the Neoplatonist we could reconcile these explications, but we have lost the key, and Fornari does not enlighten us. As Spenser was wise enough to use these weapons only in the legends of Holiness and of Chastity, we are not confused by conflicting interpretations. In his story the shield apparently means the blinding light of purity and truth, which dashes pride, lust, and passion.

I do not find that any of the commentators tries to discover a meaning in Pinnabello's malicious trick of depriving ladies of their garments and knights of their armor. From this Spenser may have drawn the evil custom of Blandina and Turpine, smooth-tongued slayers of other men's honor, but when the unfrocking of a clerk or the degradation of a knight was still a literal ceremony, not a figure of speech, I do not see why he needed to go to romance for the suggestion. There is nothing in the character of Blandina that corresponds to Pinnabello's lady, nor have the treacheries of Turpine any other similarity to Pinnabello's.

In this allegorical part of Ariosto's work, then, Spenser finds a number of suggestions. He rarely adopts, however, a device which Ariosto has developed to the full. Rather, the best of that poet's work he puts aside and chooses to elaborate what Ariosto has merely sketched. He usually alters what he adopts, not in its main significance, but in the details he adds, or in the result he derives from the event. These alterations are as often as otherwise no artistic improvement, but they are not the work of a bungler; they are made with forethought to obtain a different issue from Ariosto's, and correspond closely to some divergence in Spenser's thought. He appears to have studied Ariosto's allegory, to have found it stimulating, and pretty definitely and independently to have thought out the problem to his own conclusion.

Spenser's shield device
 depends on Ariosto's Pinnabello's shield
 borrowed from Ariosto

IV

SPENSER'S TREATMENT OF ARIOSTO'S ROMANCE AS ALLEGORY

However, the great mass of Ariosto's work is not truly allegorical; either it is romance, pure and simple, or it is romance with magic elements which Fornari and his successors transform into allegory, but which have no such consistent relation to the series of events in which they occur as to convince us that Ariosto hid a moral idea beneath the fancy. Of this part Spenser adopts certain features. Even in the first book there are some scattering imitations, but they are not numerous or marked—in some cases little more than the family resemblance between romances. The lewd hermit from whom it is supposed that Spenser obtained Archimago³² is the chief character that he has adopted in this part of his tale. This hermit is allegorized as a hypocrite by Harington. Although the Italians do not mention him at all, Ariosto's description of his appearance, and his behaviour, especially in his wooing of Angelica, suggest this signification. The hypocritical cleric is, of course, a stock figure in mediaeval and renaissance satire, but the use of spirits by both characters, and the attempt in each case upon the honor of the maiden serve to connect Spenser's villain with Ariosto's. Spenser, however, uses his hermit as a chief personage in his tale and makes him a much greater figure than Ariosto's merely incidental character.

But in Books Three, Four, and Five are to be found the most interesting examples of this part of Spenser's borrowings. Here his allegory diverges still further from the inner spiritual struggle presented in the adventure of St. George, and becomes more and more the story of the conflict between an accomplished virtue and aggressive vices. At the same time, several knights and ladies serve as representatives of chastity and friendship; there are patrons and patronesses instead of a single champion. It may be that this feature is due to a radical alteration of the author's plan in imitation of Ariosto, or to weariness of spirit and desire for variety, or, again, to mere drift of inclination toward the romance, but it is also possible that, while believing, like most fervently religious men of his day, that there is but one type of Holiness, and that there is obviously but one type of Temperance, which is an individual matter like religion, when Spenser came to consider the social virtues, as chastity, friendship, courtesy, he realized that they could not be treated on an individual scale. (There can be no courtesy, no friendship except in some kind of reciprocal intercourse with one's fellow men.) Moreover, chastity in Spenser is not the vowed celibacy of the mediaeval ascetic, but is synonymous with conjugal love in its purest form. This idea he holds in common with Ariosto's commentators, who describe Bradamante, the model for Spenser's Britomart,

³² Professor Courthope identifies Archimago and Atlante; both are magicians, have long white beards, and command spirits. Their motives and characteristic acts have no resemblance to one another.

as, successively, the chaste wife in contrast to the meretrix Alcina, the divine love in contrast to carnal love, and in another phrase, Heavenly Grace.

Spenser follows the story of Bradamante more closely than any other that he has accepted from Ariosto. Nearly every one of his incidents has its prototype, yet he may fairly claim to have overgone Ariosto here as an allegorist, for his alterations tend to build up his Britomart into a consistent representative of the virtue the Italian critics claimed for Ariosto's heroine.

The initial entrance of the two is similar, but Ariosto's maiden with dazzling white armor, shield, and crest is a much more striking emblem of chastity than Britomart. Moreover, Bradamante pauses only to overthrow Sacripant, thus frustrating his lustful design upon Angelica, and rides on. This first exploit is suitable to the allegorical idea, while in Guyon's defeat at the hands of Britomart there is, at first sight, a less happy conception. However, it seems from the beginnings of Books II, III, and VI, that Spenser may originally have had an idea of defining the relation of the virtues to one another in the first adventure of each; so he invents an incident to reconcile holiness with temperance, and now he pictures chastity as overcoming and then making peace with this same troublesome ideal of moderation. The consolation addressed to Guyon by Arthur is similar to that Angelica bestows upon Sacripant and the details of the encounter are borrowed from Ariosto as far as possible, but the character of Sacripant has no meaning in Ariosto and could hardly have suggested Guyon for Spenser's incident.

Britomart pursues her journey and arrives at the castle of Malecasta, where the infatuation of its mistress repeats, with considerable closeness, that of Fiordispina for Bradamante. Spenser puts aside as irrelevant and distasteful the after incident of Ricciardetto's impersonation of his sister with its extravagant mythical deception, and concludes with the sudden awakening and indignant anger of Britomart, his own invention. Toscanella alone bestows any attention upon Fiordispina, naming her in his table *impudicitia*, or unrestrained, libidinous passion. Here Spenser has transformed a lascivious incident into its allegorical equivalent; he makes Britomart as courteous to the evil Malecasta as Bradamante is to Fiordispina, but infinitely purified and refined in the silent thoughts behind the polite behaviour.³³

Professor Dodge has pointed out the very close resemblance between the Merlin prophecies in the two poems; these have no allegorical significance in either, serving merely as a mode of introducing praise of a patron. The overthrow of Marinell has no counterpart in Ariosto, nor is there any woman-hating character like to Marinell.

The flight of Ollyphant at the sight of Britomart may possibly be derived from the flight of Atlante in the guise of a giant, carrying the false presentment of Ruggiero. If so, what in Ariosto represents, according to Fornari,

³³ Whoever wishes to compare the two may read the fifty-fifth stanza of Canto I with *Furioso*, XXV, 30 and 31. This impresses one as a stain on Bradamante's character, nor does Harington's attempt to explain it away convince one.

the false imaginations of earthly love, which lead even Bradamante astray, in Spenser becomes the power of chastity to destroy or to put to flight evil impulses. It is one of the many changes by means of which he transmutes Ariosto's heroine into a really consistent type of virtue.

There are some curious connections between the *Furioso* and the story of Malbecco and Hellenore. The house closed against all comers by jealousy is drawn from the tale related of the Tower of Tristram, but no such characters as Malbecco and Hellenore inhabit the Tower in the *Furioso*. The theme of the suspicious husband is twice treated by Ariosto, however, in Canto XLIII, in the story of the master of the magic cup, and the boatman's tale of Argia. Harington interprets the magic cup which is spilled in the bosom of the husband who consents to test his wife by drinking of it, as suspicion. The virtue of marriage, says Toscanella, is faith: where doubt enters there is no faith, without faith there is no more than the name of marriage, nor can seduction succeed where faith abides. Fornari and Porcacchi agree in sentiment, though neither of them phrases it so well, or emphasizes precisely the same point. Spenser's tale is similar in theme to these, but where Ariosto bears heavily on avarice as a motive in the sin, with Spenser this plays a minor role as a device in accomplishing the abduction. The three stories have no details in common, yet Ariosto dwells so much on chastity in his recital—or should one say on the causes for offense against this virtue?—that one cannot help feeling that Spenser caught from him the idea of treating the problem of the suspicious husband and the unchaste wife in his Book of Chastity. His sympathy lies, as does Ariosto's, rather with the wife, however much he reprehends her vice. Why he introduces Britomart into this company has puzzled some of his critics. She breaks in, but serves no purpose in the progress of the plot, and goes away next morning. Does Spenser merely mean to intimate that suspicion shuts out chastity with all the other virtues in the attempt to shut out vice? It is an active virtue, born of freedom, not of captivity. Malbecco, at any rate, begins as the embodiment of suspicion that provokes to sin, and when the damage is done, is converted into jealousy.

From the contest at the gate of Tristram's Tower, from which each knight is excluded except as he overthrows the guest who has preceded him, Spenser appears to obtain a suggestion for Book IV, Canto I. However, Ariosto's castellan, after he has actually sent the weaker knights out into the storm, summons judges to decide between the merits of the ladies in order that the less beautiful may be expelled also. Bradamante drives out the three nobles who form Ulany's retinue, but insists upon being regarded as a knight only—she has removed only her helmet—and refuses to be drawn into comparison with the lady. Spenser, by a deft turn of events, makes Britomart defend Amoret, and then, revealing her sex, take the knight she has overthrown into her grace. The incident is more charming than Ariosto's, but no more than a family resemblance can fairly be claimed, for only the dishelming of Britomart is

exactly identical in the two. Here Spenser seems to have turned aside from his theme of chastity to use the behaviour of Britomart as an introduction to Friendship.

A more interesting parallel for our purpose is afforded by the rescue of Amoret from the tyrant Busirane. Britomart finds Scudamour in deep distress, weeping and groaning beside a spring, and gently inquires the cause of his dolor. So far Spenser follows Ariosto—it is almost a translation—but Spenser's lover is the more passionately abandoned to his grief, and Spenser has scarcely a glance for the murmuring fountain and the refreshing shade. Each of the knights, Scudamour and Pinnabello, has been bereft of his lady by a strong enchanter. Ariosto's wizard, Atlante, snatches the lady away on his winged steed, the Hippogriff, and shuts her up in a castle of shining steel at the top of a precipitous rock. Those who attempt to assail this fortress he attacks from his flying courser and so bedazzles them with a glittering shield that they are stupified and easily captured. Of Busirane's methods we learn nothing at this point, but when we reach the gate, we find no gate but a fire. Bradamante is moved by a desire to save her own lover; Britomart is wholly disinterested. Bradamante is betrayed by Pinnabello and a series of incidents intervenes, while Britomart arrives at once at the castle of the enchanter. Spenser's heroine engages in no battle at all, but Ariosto describes in detail the fight on the plain below Atlante's citadel, which is preserved by means of vases filled with fire. When these are overturned, and the flames extinguished, the castle vanishes. It may be that these strange fires are the same that we find burning at Busirane's gateway. They signify, according to Fornari, the ardors and the sighs of love, as Atlante is himself the symbol of carnal love, and Bradamante, the rescuer, of divine or spiritual love. Spenser has accepted this idea: Busirane also is the embodiment of lust, and the fire is that ardent physical passion which cannot touch Britomart however it may scorch Scudamour. But Spenser, true to his practice in former cases, proceeds to develop particulars of the conquest of lust by chastity in a field untouched by Ariosto, and therefore instead of the release of the blinding charm of the shield by the magic ring of reason, we have Britomart undergoing a lonely vigil, in which all the emotions that precede and follow the satisfaction of lust pass before her and test her endurance. Thus she frees Amoret, while in Bradamante's rescue of Ruggiero we hear no more of Pinnabello's lady for twenty cantos.

This allegory of Chastity, which repels any stain upon its whiteness even in dreams and awakes to find refuge from insidious thoughts in prayer, and which is able to purify marriage from any earthly taint by its own intrinsic nature, has seemed to several critics all too brief. But there is an inherent difficulty in allegorizing the virtue at all: it is static; the field of its conquest is limited; if it is attacked too often, one comes to doubt its integrity, as the critics themselves realize who find Florimel's woes tedious while accusing Britomart's adventures of too occasional a character.

There remains the love story of Britomart and Artegall. The first encounter, wherein Chastity overcomes an unknown Justice, and the second, in which she is attacked for having defrauded Love, but, being seen, enchants her assailant, whom she in turn recognizes as the masculine virtue long since conceived in dreams, contain but a trait or two of Bradamante's duel with Ruggiero. The exact situations which Spenser creates nowhere appear in Ariosto. Bradamante overthrows many with the lance of gold but Ariosto skillfully avoids having her encounter Ruggiero with this weapon. There is a long duel in the lists at Paris, all a summer's day, between Bradamante, in her own behalf, to secure herself from an unwelcome marriage, and Ruggiero, as Leo's champion, unknown to his betrothed. From this Spenser draws Britomart's failing strength at one point in the struggle beside the fountain. But the contract between Chaste Love and Justice is not derived from Ariosto, for not even the most ingenious allegorizer could interpret Ruggiero as justice.³⁴

The only important act of Ruggiero's which Spenser adopts is his leaving Bradamante after a brief interview, on each of two occasions, to hasten to the relief of his King, Agramante. Ariosto praises in this his recognition of the superior claims of public over private duty, honor over love. On one of these occasions, Ruggiero is seriously wounded, and so unable to keep his day with Bradamante. In like manner, Artegall breaks his compact with Britomart by reason of his imprisonment by Radigund. Britomart's fight with Dolon's sons at Pollente's bridge may be an imitation of Bradamante's encounter with Rodomonte on the narrow bridge over the Rhone, which he holds against all comers in order to avenge the death of Isabella. This princess he himself slew, for she entrapped him into the murder to save her honor. It is not quite clear that there is a necessity for this exploit at the bridge in Spenser's tale of Chastity and Justice. In the House of Dolon, she is resisting a new evil, Guile, by armed and sleepless watch, but on the narrow way across the flood, what moral principle is illustrated except that which we have had before, the prowess of the golden spear? Though this is now the Book of Justice, we have nothing here like Bradamante's pointed accusation that Rodomonte is punishing the innocent for his own crimes of lust and murder. Spenser may have some idea of symbolizing the dangers of the path to virtue, but on the whole, he cannot be said here to have developed the material he adopts or endowed it with richer significance. As to the Golden Lance, Toscanella, at last, after this exploit, tells us that it means the hidden virtue which none may resist. Of course Spenser has his lance from Ariosto, and he may have its meaning from Toscanella, but he could equally well have seen its possibilities for himself.

Britomart's jealousy in the interim between Artegall's failure to reappear and Talus' arrival with the news of his capture, is exactly modeled upon Bradamante's like passion—the watching of the road, the counting of the days, the

³⁴ Toscanella makes a sorry attempt to identify Ruggiero with marital fidelity in spite of his two serious defections, and several delays.

varying imaginations of accident and disloyalty, even the passionate weeping and throes of grief upon her bed. Spenser is probably correct in counting Chastity a jealous virtue. But in casting about for a suitable object of the jealousy, he seems to have rejected Ariosto's device of the long lost sister of Ruggiero, the Amazon Marfisa.—If he had lived in the twentieth century, he might have seen unrealized allegorical possibilities in it.—He chooses rather the pride of the—shall we say female adventurer, or new woman?—who has abandoned her "sphere" to shine more brilliantly in another, to vindicate her self-sufficiency by equal force, or, if out-shone, to conquer still—by being out-shone. There is a radically modern suggestion in Britomart's sallying forth to her lover's rescue through competition with Radigund in arms. Bradamante's corresponding victory over Marfisa in several encounters, Fornari and Toscanella interpret as the victory of virtue over pride. Radigund has in common with Marfisa a fierce, almost termagant arrogance of strength. Marfisa is always triumphant. At the one moment when she is about to be conquered by Ruggiero, the shade of Atlante intervenes to reveal their kinship, to reconcile the pair, and to appease Bradamante. In place of this incident, Spenser has Artegall overcome by Radigund's beauty, just as on an earlier occasion by Britomart's. He adds the whole fiction of Radigund's Amazon kingdom and Britomart's repeal of the liberties of women. Although he may have obtained a suggestion from the lascivious kingdom of the women of Laiazzo, yet there are no details to connect Radigund with these, and closer parallels can be found in classical literature.

✓ Taking the whole allegory of Britomart,³⁵ even in the minor incidents, such as the sojourn in the Castle of the Lovers, Spenser seems to have followed the plot of Ariosto. Where any allegory is supplied by the commentators or suggested by the author, he accepts it. He is not diverted from his purpose by the allurements of romance, but converts some incidents, like that of Fiordispina, into allegory, and amplifies others, such as the rescue of Ruggiero from Atlante, and the contest with Marfisa, from fragmentary hints. The real difference between his treatment of his borrowings in Books III and IV and in the earlier legends is not a difference in his attention to the allegory or his system of elaborating it, so much as in his narrative method, the intricate interweaving of the threads of several stories, in which he follows Ariosto's plan more closely than he had previously done.

The adventures of Florimel, the Snowy Florimel, Belpheobe, and Amoret form a considerable portion of this web. The last lady has no prototype in Ariosto. The former three are one of Spenser's most interesting transmutations.

Perhaps it may be well to outline the story of Angelica, the Cathayan princess who is the cause of Orlando's madness. At the opening of Ariosto's poem, Angelica has been committed to the charge of Duke Namor, to be the

³⁵ It is not to be understood that he adopts all the incidents in Ariosto's story. We need to keep in mind that Spenser is not translating Ariosto.

prize of whichever of her contending lovers displays the most valor and prowess in the impending battle with the Saracens. But the battle is lost, and Angelica mounts a horse and escapes into the nearby forest. She sees approaching Rinaldo, whose ardent passion she fears with a deadly fear. Shrieking, she kicks the sides of her horse and takes to headlong flight. Rinaldo is interrupted in the chase by Ferrau. Meanwhile, Angelica, after a day and a night of wandering, has secluded herself in a close thicket of roses, a natural bower, where she takes a much needed nap! She is awakened by the laments of Sacripant, the Circassian king, seated upon the bank of a nearby stream, bemoaning his fruitless pursuit of Angelica. She resolves to make this lover useful as an escort back to her own kingdom in the Orient. She reveals herself, and Sacripant, overjoyed, makes passionate advances. Hereupon Bradamante rides by and overthrows him. Sobered by his defeat, he pursues his way with Angelica until they again encounter Rinaldo. Again Angelica flees while the fight between the two knights rages, and now falls in with the hypocritical old hermit who informs her horse with a demon so that it swims out to sea. Angelica prudently tucks up her skirts beyond the reach of the waves and clings to the horse in terror for her life. The sea gods, charmed with her beauty, hush the waters to a level floor, until at length the horse returns to a desert strand, where the lady finds herself once more in the hands of the hermit. His wicked designs are frustrated, and next she is captured by pirates who sell her in the island of Ebuda, where every day a beautiful maiden is chained to a rock by the seashore to become the prey of an Orc sent by the offended sea-god Proteus. From this perilous situation Angelica is rescued by Ruggiero, who gives her the magic ring of reason while he unsuccessfully combats the Orc from the back of his winged steed. Finding that he makes no impression on the tough hide of the monster—apparently a whale—he takes Angelica on his crupper and flies away. Angelica recognizes the ring which, worn on the finger, dispels enchantments, but carried in the mouth, enables one to become invisible. When Ruggiero becomes too importunately ardent, she disappears from his view. She takes refuge in a shepherd's hut, where, unseen, she helps herself to food, clothing and a mount. Orlando, who has been searching for her all this time, gets his only real glimpse of her when she releases Sacripant from Atlante, designing still to make him her protector on her return to Cathay. Orlando and Ferrau, contrary to her intention, participate in the release and follow her. The three lovers quarrel, and Orlando and Ferrau engage in a duel. Angelica, at first in doubt which to choose, presently decides that lovers are a nuisance and that, being possessed of the ring, she can get along nicely without any of them. So she claps the talisman into her mouth and rides off, after stealing Orlando's helmet, out of pure mischief. We do not see her again until she suddenly appears on the night when Medoro, attempting to rescue and bury the body of his slain lord, is attacked and wounded by a troop of the enemy. Angelica is moved to pity at the sight of the unconscious youth, brings herbs to heal his hurt, and summons a peasant to

carry him to a nearby cottage, where, nursing him, she falls in love with her patient. They spend an idyllic honeymoon in this sylvan retreat, and then set out for Spain where they take ship for the Orient. Orlando, finding the fountain and the cave where the honeymoon was spent, and all around trees and rocks carved with the intertwined names of the happy lovers, and hearing the testimony of the peasant with whom they sojourned, goes mad, flings away his armor, and runs wild through forests and mountains. One last glimpse he gets of Angelica, riding with Medoro along the Spanish shore, and though he does not know her now, he follows after, but once more she escapes by virtue of the ring.

The commentators are all very severe upon Angelica for her pride, and then for her love of "a poor foot soldier of no reputation." Ariosto gives some color to this by his rather humorous comments on her rejection of all her famous suitors, whereupon Love, provoked by her independence, lies in wait for her at the pass. The reader is inclined to see in the arrant coquette the most delightful of Ariosto's creatures. She is at least all of one piece. Across the poet's pages she moves, or rather flits, with mocking gaiety, malicious, witty, alluring, unabashed, quite confident of her power to wind the most impetuous knight around her finger and come off unscathed. Rinaldo is the only exception; she has loved Rinaldo, and now she hates him with a hatred that is two-thirds fear.

Her terrified flight whenever he appears signifies, according to Toscanella, the perils of beauty wandering alone, or, according to Fornari, that the only certain refuge of virtue from libidinous love is in flight. Harington adds: "Resist the devil, but fly fornication." In this case Spenser has not, I think, appreciated the humor of his predecessor, but whether he does or not, he evidently considers the flirtatious complexity of Angelica's character impossible for allegory, for he divides or analyzes her into three parts. We have her first as Beauty fleeing fornication, the chastity that unwittingly provokes attack, and must needs flee. This Angelica he calls Florimel, and subjects her to as many untoward adventures as Angelica undergoes, though all of them are somewhat different. The grisly forester, Guyon and Arthur, the witch's son, the hellish beast, the ancient sailor, Proteus himself, have only a general resemblance to Rinaldo, Sacripant and Orlando, the bewitched horse, the old hermit, and the Orc, but in the outline of events, in the theme of persecuted Beauty, and in the approximate translation of the first flight, Spenser has followed Ariosto; each of his embodiments of lust or love is a new testimony to the perils of Beauty unprotected. This Florimel Professor Cory finds insipid, a constant interruption of the plot, while others declare that she is without allegorical significance, a figure of pure romance. In view of the radical change Spenser makes here from his model, I cannot agree with this view. It may be unsuccessful allegory, but I think it is definitely intended as an embodiment of one phase of the problem of chastity. We may not like it, but it is still true that there is a type of beauty that excites passion, and its protection does lie in retreat from observation.

Spenser evidently regards coquetry as quite incompatible with the modest shyness he sees in Florimel, but having taken up the Angelica theme, he wishes to account for this trait too, or perhaps realizes that his Florimel in flight will be recognized, and desires to lay the ghost of Angelica the flirt in his readers' minds. We have, therefore, Snowy Florimel, who seems to be chaste in her behaviour although the testimony of the girdle belies this, but

So greate a mistress of her art she was,
And perfectly practiz'd in womans craft,

.....
Was so expert in every subtile slight
That it could overreach the wisest earthly wight.

This snowy lady keeps at bay, but hopeful, the witch's son, Ferrau, Braggadocchio, Blandamour; and as, according to Fornari, Angelica the coquette falls at last to the lot of a mere foot soldier, so Snowy Florimel, the mere false mask of chaste Beauty, gives herself to Braggadocchio, the hollow semblance of a knight, and when the true beauty is brought in, vanishes quite away. This gives a new significance to Angelica's vanishings.

Meanwhile, however, Angelica, not the coquette, but the proud maiden "who contemned all men," who pities and rescues the wounded Medoro, has received yet another treatment. As Belpheobe we find this foster daughter of Diana gazing upon the wounded Timias. She conveys him to her sylvan palace, and cures his wound with cunning medicines. It is he who loves his benefactress, not she who stoops to him. Like Angelica, Belpheobe is a Queen, beyond the hopes of Arthur's faithful squire; the resolute virgin is offended when her guest turns his thoughts to love. And now Spenser borrows a trait, not from Medoro, happy in his suit, but from mad Orlando, all semblance of humanity lost, shaggy and unkempt, roaming the woods and wilds. Timias retires to a vine-clad cave, alone, and Arthur, passing, pities but cannot recognize his squire, so altered is he. It is Belpheobe's arrow, not the arrow of Timias, that saves Amoret from the monster. And after Timias has duly repented his momentary dream, she yields him grace once more. We know, of course, that Belpheobe is Elizabeth, "as a most vertuous and beautiful woman". She seems to be also the type of chastity, unlike Britomart, that refuses marriage. Spenser does not think affection for a valorous and loyal squire of lower rank blame-worthy—indeed Ariosto never really presents this view—but he leaves in shadowy uncertainty the issue of this relation. What could he do else, having declared the identity of his heroine?

This splitting of the character of Angelica into three distinct units can have no purpose if Spenser is here merely indulging in "irresponsible, unallegorical romance," for why should he take such pains to supply each lady with just those features from Ariosto's store-house that remodel her into a consistent character? In Ariosto we have all the charm of adventurous vicissitude plus beauty and wit, and the delightful aplomb of the insouciant flirt. Spenser

ignores the wit, giving us a tearful Florimel, subtracts the adventure and presents a hateful coquette, and minus both wit and danger, he creates the grave and lofty beauty of Belpheobe. I cannot think that he was so clumsy as to rework this material without a purpose, and a definitely allegorical one as well. Perceiving the danger in depicting a chastity too often attacked, he has interwoven the other chief thread from Ariosto's plot to enrich the texture, but he believes that these accompaniments of chastity, timid modesty, cold and proud virginity, daring coquetry, are essentially disparate qualities, and so he has untwisted the thread and given each strand a separate place in his design.

The continued use Spenser makes of Ariosto in the cases already discussed is in striking contrast to the incidental character of his borrowings in the last three books. Except the portions that complete the stories of Britomart, Belpheobe, and the Florimels, there are only minor imitations of Ariosto in this part of his work, nor are the parallels close. Some of the actions of Braggadocchio at the tournament are borrowed from Ariosto's coward Martano; Ate in the scene in which she is proposed as a prize to Braggadocchio, and again when she traduces Amoret to Scudamour, plays the part of Gabrinia who is also a type of spite and treason; Artegall's conflict with Pollente resembles at one point Brandimart's with Rodomonte; Arthur rescues Aemylia and Amyas, whose earlier history has some resemblance to that of Isabella and Zerbino. But there are no large themes borrowed in Book IV, which is the most unsatisfactory of all the books in point of unity, without possessing the romantic charm of the Book of Courtesy. In his two mystical allegories of friendship, that of Cambell and Triamond, and that of Amyas and Placidus, Spenser adopts nothing from Ariosto, for the story of Aemylia and her lover is distinct from Placidus' proof of devotion. This is the more striking because in instances of fine human comradeship and loyalty, Ariosto particularly abounds, and he has at least one example, in Leo and Ruggiero, of extreme romantic friendship. Spenser finds no embodiment, however, nor anything that can be made an embodiment, of his peculiar, Neoplatonic idea of the *alter ego*, the community of soul between friends.³⁶ In the two tragedies of feminine constancy, that of Isabella and that of Fiordilige, Ariosto reaches his highest pitch of spiritual emotion, but here we have a different relation from that of friend to friend. To justice, the Italian poet gives scarcely a thought. When his commentators desire to emphasize the virtues of a king in Charles, the most that they can do is to point out his piety, and his very commonplace efforts to provision and fortify Paris against attack. But Spenser conceives a justice such as Sir Thomas Smith describes, consisting of monarch and parliament, courts, council, and the martial power of a commander in the field.³⁷ His Artegall is a kind of combination of itinerant justice, privy councillor, and lieutenant of the forces, imbued with the spirit of Aristotle. Nor are the peculiar accomplishments of

³⁶ John Erskine: *The Virtue of Friendship in the Faerie Queene*, P. M. L. A., Dec., 1915.

³⁷ Sir Thomas Smith: *De Republica Anglorum*.

the sixteenth century courtier illustrated in Ariosto's battles and adventures by field and flood. The *Furioso* is a poem with a minimum of domestic scenes. Both knights and ladies are constantly on horseback or on board ship, either engaged in battles with men or monsters, singly or in troops, or traveling to a battle-field. They do not engage in sports, or music, or in much conversation; even love-making is done in the saddle, or in brief interviews snatched by the wayside, as the riders pause for refreshment in the shade of a grove, beside some fountain. The evil custom of Blandina's castle is the only incident in Book VI that corresponds at all closely to anything in Ariosto. Spenser, who makes malice, evil speech, his symbol of discourtesy, can find little in Ariosto to supply him with incident or character. There is little deceit or slander in Ariosto, though much fierce contention.

Whether Spenser was definitely indebted to the interpretations of Fornari and Toscanella, it is impossible to assert dogmatically. He agrees closely enough with Fornari on the points both touch to suggest that he had read either the *Spositione* or else the notes in Porro's edition of 1584. The correspondences between his use of Ariosto and Toscanella's interpretation are fewer, but they are rather striking, the reference to Orlando in his letter to Raleigh, in particular, seeming to indicate at least a cursory acquaintance with the *Bellezze*. On the other hand, we must remember that one of these works was published forty, the other fifteen years before the appearance of the first installment of the *Faerie Queen*, that both were widely read in literary circles, and that it would therefore have been possible for Spenser to assimilate their ideas without reading either book. It is worth noting, however, that Harington knew his Fornari well. Although he claims to have consulted various learned Italians in the preparation of his translation, he does not mention Toscanella. The points in which his comments on the *Furioso* resemble Spenser's use of the poem, and his only, apparently indicate that he has been influenced by the recently published portion of Spenser's book. We must suppose that, even if Spenser knew Harington, and joined in the discussions which according to that author's claim preceded his annotations of his translation, he hardly could, and probably would not, have altered his poem, which, it is likely, he brought to London ready for the press, while Harington could easily make any additions to or alterations in his notes he might wish, in the months that intervened between the publication of Spenser's work and that of his own. But if Harington knew his Fornari so well, is it likely that Spenser, who had been studying the great Italian poet even more earnestly, was ignorant of the famous comment? I hardly think so.

At all events, he accepts his Ariosto as allegory. He studies carefully the allegory of temperance in sensual delights, and in the same spirit, he studies what he conceives to be the allegory of chastity or chaste love, adopting many of the chief characters, situations, and themes, but reworking them into a more consistent, a purer, and at times a radically different form. To these adaptations, he of course makes large additions, both from his abundant reading in other authors, and from his own rich imagination. In the books of Holiness, Friend-

ship, Justice, and Courtesy, he uses Ariosto less, because there is less in the *Furioso* that can be used for his main purpose. There are many incidental reminiscences, however, throughout the whole book, which, while they contribute little to our understanding of Spenser's moral point of view, testify to his familiarity with the Italian poet, and to that delighted re-reading which Professor Dodge remarks.

ARIOSTO AS A KEY TO SPENSER'S POLITICAL ALLEGORY

There is another use of the Angelica-Orlando plot in Spenser of which I have not spoken. As Orlando, throughout the earlier cantos of Ariosto's poem goes searching for Angelica whom he never finds, so Arthur pursues a quest for Gloriana, seen only in dreams. The exploits of Arthur apparently are not derived from those of Orlando, though there are details of the fight with Pyrochles and Cymochles that recall Orlando's great battle on the island of Lampedusa, while adumbrations of the aid rendered to Isabella and to Olympia hover over Arthur's intervention in the affairs of Amyas and his championship of Belgae; but there is a general similarity in the place occupied by the two heroes. Orlando casts a glamour over the readers of Ariosto, less by what he does in succoring Olympia, Isabella, and Zerbino, than by the magnanimity of his spirit, the universal honor in which he is held, his compassion for suffering, his loyalty to his friends. Arthur, like Orlando, is the magnanimous champion of others in distress; he never fights for his own hand. Orlando has his friend and shadow, Brandimart, his companion in arms, and Timias occupies somewhat the same place in Arthur's affections, though he is squire, not knight. Like Orlando, notwithstanding the occasional, even accidental character of his entrances upon the scene, Arthur lacks little of what Spenser meant him to be, the hero of the piece.

His Angelica is, we know Gloriana, Elizabeth. And this brings me to a question: Did Spenser, besides using Ariosto's poem as a source for moral allegory, also use some of the characters and their fortunes as a kind of key or clue by which his readers might trace his fine footing in some of the historical parts of his work?

There is no doubt that the fanciful employment of romances for complimentary and uncomplimentary allusion was not infrequent in Elizabeth's day. We know, of course, that animal nicknames, some of them heraldic, were applied to Leicester, Hatton, and others, and that pastoral eclogues and sonnets supplied classical pseudonyms for Queen and courtiers. The same fancy seems to have led to the use of allusions to romantic fiction. It has often been remarked that when Leicester went to the Low Countries, one, at least, of the pageants with which he was entertained represented King Arthur, apparently a compliment identifying him with the British hero; the same device had been used earlier in his own entertainment of the Queen at Kenilworth.³⁸ In 1569, the grave statesmen of the Queen's Council were busy considering a letter written by the Spanish ambassador, Guerau d'Espes, which contains this curious sentence: "If you hear that I am detained here you need not be surprised since the enchantments of Amadis still exist in this island, and Arche-

³⁸ Gascoigne: *The Princely Pleasures at Kenelworth Castle*, in *Works*, Vol. II, p. 92, Cambridge University Press, 1910.

laus is still alive. Nevertheless here I am safe and sound, a prisoner of Queen Oriana, and I have no doubt, even without the aid of Urgandae or other great effort, this all will end in a comedy." The Council reprehends this allusion to the Amadis romance as "fantastic and unworthy a person holding his office."³⁹ Mary Stuart is in prison at this time, the air is thick with plots and rumors of plots, negotiations are on foot concerning the seizure of Spanish ships on their way to the Netherlands with money for Alva's troops: hence this slighting reference to the queen of the fairies is most unpalatable. There are also other offenses in the letter. But d'Espes replies that he is astonished that the Council should so misunderstand his intentions; he will send them "one to whom the Spanish tongue is natural," for if they understood how these things were used in Spain, they would see a compliment in his remark. One suspects, however, that these things were only too well known in England. In 1592, Sir Walter Raleigh, being in disgrace, sees from his window in the Tower this same matchless Oriana, with her court, passing in barges on the river, whereupon he desires to follow her, offers to slay his keeper, Sir George Carew, and Sir Arthur Gorges, who parts the fray, writes to Sir Robert Cecil, "Sir Walter Raleigh will shortly grow to be Orlando Furioso, if the bright Angelica persevere against him a little longer." Twenty years lie between these incidents, but is it wholly accidental that courtiers and councillors on these widely separate occasions see the Queen under the name of a heroine of romance?⁴⁰

So in Spenser, Angelica becomes Gloriana, Elizabeth, and Orlando becomes Arthur, probably Leicester; at other times Angelica is Belphebe, and Orlando, now Furoiso, is Timias, Raleigh. This we have long known. But what then of Florimel, who is also Angelica, and that other, the Snowy Florimel, the counterfeit and coquette? These four shadows of the Cathayan princess never occupy the stage at the same time. Moreover, Arthur, who is pursuing Gloriana, at one moment turns aside to follow Florimel, whom he mistakes for his dream lady, and Snowy Florimel so resembles the true Beauty that only when the two are confronted can they be distinguished.

Would Spenser, then, dare to present so unfavorable a portrait as Snowy Florimel, and have it known for the Queen? But is it unfavorable? This enchanted lady is created in the very image of Beauty to deceive the lazy, loordish son of the witch. From him she is snatched by Braggadocchio, who in turn loses her to Ferrau, from whom she is reft by Blandamour, journeying in company with Paridell. After the tournament she gives herself first to Britomart, and then on her refusal, to Braggadocchio again, with whom she remains until just before his disgrace, when she vanishes quite away. Braggadocchio has long been held to be the Duc d'Alençon. Through all the years from her accession until the death of this prince in 1584, Elizabeth was constantly engaged in what we

³⁹ *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign, 1569-71; Spanish, 1568-70.*

⁴⁰ Gorges' letter is quoted in *Life of Sir Walter Raleigh*, by E. Edwards, Vol. I, p. 141, Macmillan, London, 1868.

may call diplomatic flirtations with most of the eligible princes of Europe. It is not at all likely that she ever seriously intended to marry, but as a maiden queen, with a rich kingdom and no near heirs, she was no mean prize, and she knew it! The juggling, the shifts, the chicanery by which, in the guise of courtship, she kept Europe guessing for twenty years, until England was strong enough to stand alone, may be set down to vanity, but no less to shrewd political insight. It is to be noted that this juggling ended with Alençon's death in 1584. He was the last of her suitors. The affair with this prince began in 1570, when he was substituted by Catherine de' Medici and Charles IX for Henry, Duc d'Anjou, afterwards Henry III, who had been pushed forward against his own will as a candidate for Elizabeth's hand. Henry was at this time under the influence of the Guises and stubbornly refused to make the necessary concessions in religion. The Alençon negotiations which followed continued, with one break of about three years, until his death. Now the character of the witch's lazy, loutish son would be quite acceptable to English pride and to Elizabeth's vanity, as a picture of the stubborn and recalcitrant Henry, nor would Catherine be unsuitable for the role of witch in the current estimation. If we have Alençon as Braggadocchio—who we know was unpopular with the Leicester faction, nor indeed genuinely popular with any of the greater nobles—it remains to identify Ferrau, Blandamour, and Paridell. Now Ferrau is a character from Ariosto, where he plays a minor part in the love story, but as a fierce and valiant warrior is important in the battles. The significant fact is that he is the son to the brother of the king of Spain. In his essay *On the Political Allegory in the Faerie Queene*,⁴¹ Professor Buck identifies this character with the Archduke Charles of Austria, who was, to be sure, nephew to the king of Spain, but I doubt whether Englishmen would have regarded him as a Spanish prince, and at all events, he had no shining reputation as a soldier, and in the interval when the Alençon match was in abeyance, was already married to a Bavarian princess. At this precise point, however, Elizabeth was angling for another prince, a Spaniard, and a soldier whose exploits had kindled the imagination of Europe, Don Juan of Austria, the natural brother of Philip II.⁴² He died in 1578, and shortly afterward the Alençon match was revived.

But who are Paridell and Blandamour? Probably they are English nobles with whom the Queen flirted in the meantime. I am inclined to accept Professor Buck's identification of Paridell with the Earl of Oxford, chiefly perhaps, in addition to the reasons he assigns, because that erratic young nobleman was at court about 1575, acting as lover to the Queen, to the discomfiture of Hatton, who became intensely jealous. Could Hatton himself be the Blandamour who wins the Snowy Florimel for a brief space? It scarcely seems possible, yet Spenser did not unduly love Hatton—consider his introductory

⁴¹ Philo M. Buck, Jr.: *On the Political Allegory in the Faerie Queen*, in *University Studies*, Lincoln, Nebraska, Vol. XI, Nos. 1-2, 1911.

⁴² Hume: *Courtships of Queen Elizabeth*, McClure and Phillips, 1906, p. 185; also Chapter XVII.

sonnet to the Lord Chancellor, and compare it with the one to Burleigh—and Hatton was constantly suspected of favoring the Catholics, although it is difficult to discover any adequate evidence to support this accusation. Blandamour's evanescent attentions to Duessa might represent the contemporary suspicion. But, whoever the two are, they are not in Ariosto's poem, and may be dismissed from the present discussion. Snowy Florimel is rejected by Britomart—did not England cry out against the French match in the voice of Stubbs?—and returns to Braggadocchio as the Queen does to Alençon, and just before his disgrace in the lists, she vanishes quite away, as Elizabeth, shortly before Alençon's disgrace and death in Flanders, abandoned her pretenses at courtship. Is not Spenser in reality here offering the Queen a graceful compliment? We know, he says, that in all these abortive wooings, Her Majesty but assumed a mask to keep these foolish princes in play; she never really meant to marry—the real Queen, the true Florimel was far away, encountering dangers for the nation's sake. Nor is his compliment undeserved; it hits the white as nearly as historians have since been able to do.

If this conjecture is correct, the true Florimel must also be Elizabeth, and the perils she undergoes must, I think, be interpreted as dangers to England, not to the person of the Queen. I have sought for them in the same period covered by the Alençon match, 1570 to 1585. The grisly forester is not definitely characterized, but the fact that Timias, after long pursuit, at length encounters him and his companions, and is victorious, lends color to Professor Buck's identification of him with the rebellion in Ireland, since Raleigh was there sometime about 1578 and had some thrilling adventures near Cork. There were chronic rebellions in Ireland almost every year from 1570 until 1582. The hellish beast sent forth by the witch to interrupt her son's amours looks, to a Protestant mind, wonderfully like the Massacre of St. Bartholemew, 1572, which produced such a profound impression in England that all the court put on mourning. It happened in the very midst of the French marriage schemes. This beast, which eats half of Florimel's horse, perhaps the Huguenot half of the Protestant sect, is not found in Ariosto, where the horse itself takes to the sea. Spenser has substituted for the hermit and the Orc an old sailor and the sea-god, Proteus. These changes seem to imply that he had sea-powers in mind. At this date, the two greatest sea-going nations, the one in its dotage, sinking to ruin, and the other at the zenith of its power, were Portugal and Spain. Now Portugal and England had a variety of relations between 1570 and 1580. In 1573, and again in 1576, treaties of trade and mutual friendship were made between the two countries, each kingdom promising not to harbor or give aid to rebels, traitors, or enemies of the other. But in 1577, there were reports that a fleet was being prepared in Portugal, at the instigation of the Pope, to invade Ireland. It was even rumored that five thousand men had already landed in Ireland. At this juncture the king of Portugal died, and was succeeded by his aged uncle, the insane Cardinal Henry, who bears a tempting resemblance to Spenser's ancient sailor. When this king in turn died in 1580,

Spain annexed the country, for Philip II was the nearest heir. In the same manner, Proteus annexes the old seaman to his chariot wheels and drags him through the waves. Camden says that Philip's campaigns in Portugal, where there was for some years resistance to his claims, prevented for the time any attack on England: "Neither could he be perswaded (being wholly bent upon the Conquest of Portugall) so much as once to think of England."⁴³

If Spenser meant to picture the large features of England's foreign complications in Florimel's adventures, her marriage with Marinell of course must represent the bold reliance at last on her own daring sea-dogs, the guardians of the strand and collectors of rich treasure, who had long been straining at the leash. Whether Lord Admiral Howard is meant by Marinell, it is not perhaps here quite in point to discuss. His appointment as Lord High Admiral in 1585, his kinship with the Queen, Spenser's friendly relations with the Howard family, and the promise in the introductory sonnet seem to favor such a view, while on the other hand, the achievements of Drake were more striking, and he experienced a period of disfavor about 1573-4 which might be typified by Marinell's illness.

One wishes that there were some hint of Amoret's identity to be found in Ariosto, but she is a creature from some other world. She may be merely a symbol of love, with no political significance. At all events she is not another reflection of Angelica, and we may perhaps conjecture that she is therefore not Elizabeth. There are difficulties in conceiving Elizabeth as imprisoned by Busirane and then by Ollyphant, and exciting the jealousy of Belpheobe, while the total incompatibility of this character with Duessa seems to exclude Upton's tentative suggestion that she may be Mary of Scotland. Neither is she Elizabeth Throgmorton, for Spenser, who apologizes for praising his own lady in Book VI, would never have dared to elevate Raleigh's mistress to the position of twin sister to the Queen. I suspect that, if Amoret has any political significance, she represents either a member of the Suffolk family, or Arabella Stuart, both of whom were favored for the succession by Spenser's friends at different times.

Is Britomart, then, Elizabeth? There is no question in the minds of most readers that Britomart is Spenser's favorite heroine. In her glittering armor, with her shining veil of golden hair and her invincible ebon spear, she surpasses in beauty, power, and charm all the other ladies and all the other knights of Faeryland. Though all her outward adornments, nearly all her actions, and the main outlines of her character are sketched in her predecessor, Bradamante, yet she is an original, autochthonous growth of Spenser's own poetic soil. He could here have pictured the Queen, but I do not think he did, for, after all, notwithstanding his disposition to idealize, there is an element of shrewd realism in his portraits even of his friends—of Timias, for instance, with his love-sick moanings. Moreover, in the delineations of the Queen

⁴³ Camden: *Annales*, 1635, p. 203; *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign*, 1572-4, 1577-8, 1578-9, 1579-80.

which we have already considered, in spite of flattery, we still see her characteristic timidity, her shameless coquetries, the essential selfishness of her make-believe love affairs with her courtiers, while in the girl Britomart there is no touch of the real Elizabeth. Rather, Spenser saw in Ariosto's device of a mythical ancestress of the House of Este, an opportunity to combine a delicate compliment to his sovereign with entire freedom to develop a heroine after his own heart, unhampered by the politic necessity of, or the inherent impulse toward, verisimilitude. This opportunity he seized, and if in some vague way the stainless knight is reminiscent of England, yet in the main she represents the allegorical and ideal element in the poem, only.⁴⁴

Would Spenser's contemporaries have recognized the four-fold portrayal of Angelica—would not these allusions woven of threads from Italian poetry and English political complications have proved too intricate for them to unravel? It seems likely that the meaning was patent, at least to the charmed court circle and to the lettered public who read Ariosto with avidity, if not in Italian, then presently in Harington's translation. There are a few curious notes in Harington which may indicate that he himself has recognized and accepted some of Spenser's interpretations of Ariosto. I have already mentioned his addition to Fornari's discussion of Logostilla and her two sisters as the three religions of the Mediterranean world, and his curious interpretation of Logostilla's realm as the human body, with the citadel remaining to her, as the head. A third even more remarkable addition is the following statement in the notes to Canto XIX, the canto in which Ariosto sums up the history of his flirtatious heroine: "Angelica is taken for honor which brave men hunt after by blood and battels; but a good servant with faith and gratefulnesse to his Lord gets it." This is totally different from anything in the Italian commentators. No one of them so much as hints that Angelica is a symbol for honor, nor is there anything in Ariosto to warrant the interpretation. On the other hand, in Spenser Angelica becomes Gloriana, the very honor "which brave men hunt after by blood and battels," and how well the description of Medoro as a true servant fits Timias!

Moreover, have we not another hint of this ready recognition of Spenser's meaning in another poet, his admirer and imitator, Richard Barnfield? *The Shepherds Content*, written in 1594, contains this stanza:

By thee great Collin lost his libertie,
 By thee sweet Astrophel forwent his joy;
 By thee Amyntas wept incessantly,
 By thee good Rowland liv'd in great annoy;
 O cruell, peevish, vylde, blind-seeing Boy;

How canst thou hit their hearts and yet not see?
 (If thou be blinde, as thou art faind to bee).

We know Colin, Amyntas, and Astrophel—they are Spenser, Watson and

⁴⁴ The name Britomart, from Britomartis, the Cretan Diana, is against this view, however.

Sidney—but who is Rowland? It may seem like proving one guess by another, but who should he be but Raleigh, Timias or Orlando Furioso, who in Spenser's poem "liv'd in great annoy"? The very names Rawley, Rowland, could not fail to strike the ear of that rhyming, punning age. The next year Barnfield repeats the allusion to Colin and Rowland in a sonnet, the twentieth in *Cynthia, with Certain Sonnets*.⁴⁵ We seem to recognize Raleigh by the company he keeps. It is altogether probable that these two of Spenser's readers were not alone in penetrating his intentions.

If, then, we read our Ariosto once more, not this time in the sunshine of an Italian garden, but by the fireside of the Castle of Kilcolman, through long winter afternoons—read it with studious attention to the allegory "which is the soul," and with a poet-scholar's curiosity concerning the comments of the learned Italian editor, we shall find, not only all the old delight, but hidden away in the magic pages of the Italian poet, one of the keys to unlock the thought of his great English rival and admirer.

⁴⁵ Barnfield: *Poems*, Arber Reprint, 1895.

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Thomas Dekker: A Study In Economic
and Social Backgrounds

KATE L. GREGG, Ph. D.

A Thesis Submitted in Candidacy for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

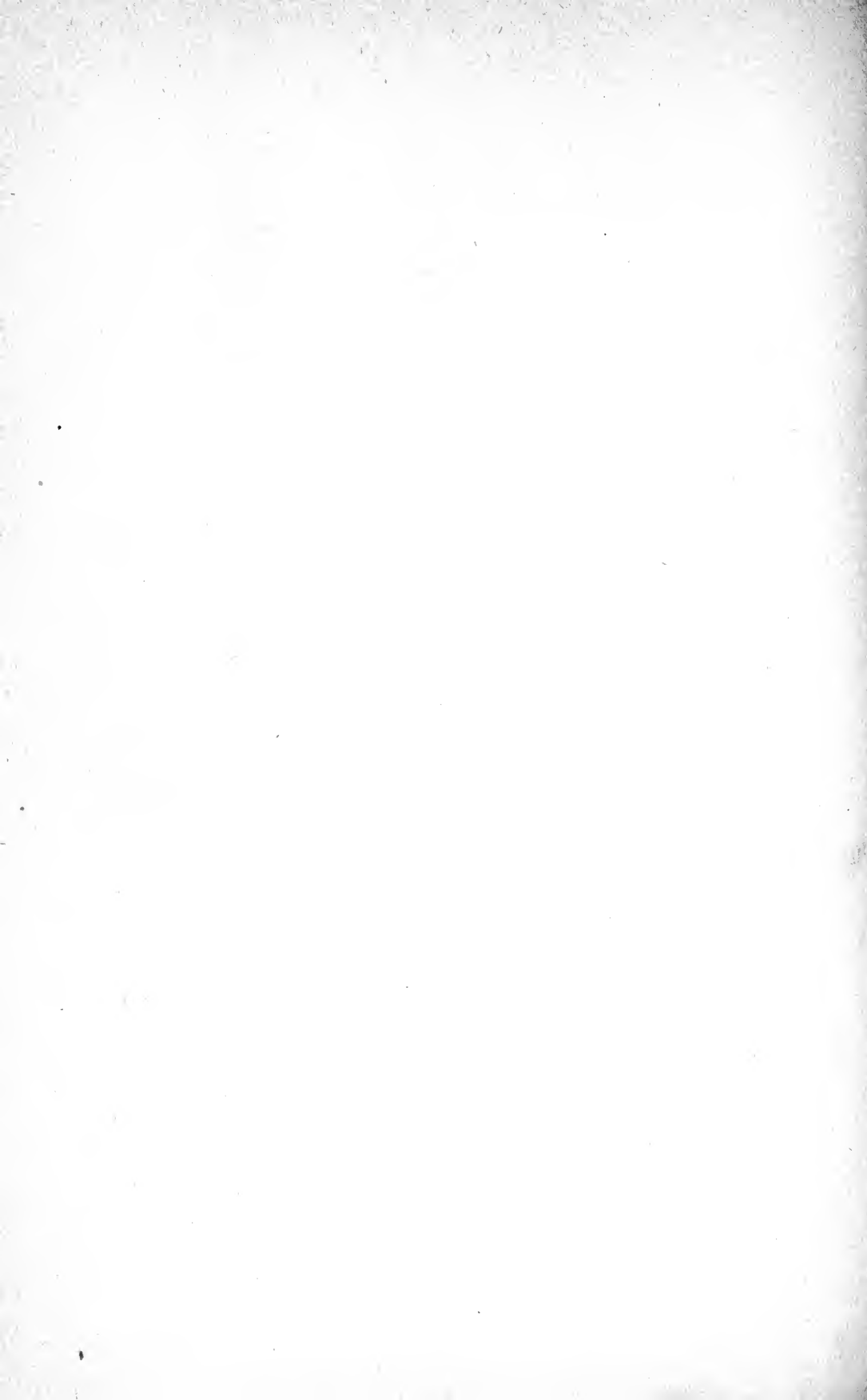


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KATE L. GREGG.

Linderwood College,
St. Charles, Missouri,
July 1, 1924.

THOMAS DEKKER: A STUDY IN ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL BACKGROUNDS

I.

ECONOMIC INTERPRETATION OF ELIZABETHAN LITERATURE

This study is an attempt to apply the economic theory of history to literary criticism. It is based upon the assumption that economic and social forces have a direct bearing upon literature, and that, whether one is considering the work of an individual writer or of an age, the literary historian must take these forces into account. Within a generation, the study of economic and social forces has revolutionized the writing of history, and it bids fair to play a part almost as revolutionary in the interpretation of literature. In so far as a literature is deep and vital, it must take account of the social currents that shape the life of an age. Indeed, to a large extent any literature is itself shaped by these underlying forces and is the result of their complex interaction. Literature, like any other art, is not an inert and passive thing, a mirror hung within the room; rather it is as alive as life itself, taking form and color not only from what falls within its magic scope, but as well from what is excluded therefrom.

This study, then, is deductive. It starts with the hypothesis that the Elizabethan age had conflicting economic and social interests, and that Thomas Dekker, who was a singularly faithful mirror of much of the age, reflected those interests and was shaped by them. That any man of letters of the Elizabethan period was profoundly influenced by conflicting economic and social currents runs directly counter to the great body of criticism, which assumes that such factors do not enter materially into the interpretation of literature, or that if they do, the Elizabethan period was a glorious time when, for a season, ordinary laws were suspended, and mankind lived again in the radiance of the golden age.

As we glance over the history of English scholarship, such an attitude becomes, if not reasonable, at least intelligible. For the most part this scholarship has been so deeply concerned with matters of text, authorship, and source, that quite naturally it has often overlooked the living spirit of the people. Content with the establishment of the text, it has not passed to the further question, of what is this text an expression. Happy in the determination of an authorship, it has not sufficiently concerned itself with the author's relationship to the total society of which he was an expression. In tracing parallelisms in thought and form, it has not taken the one step further in seeking reasons for such similarities in the life of the people. Such neglect of fundamental factors has perhaps resulted necessarily from the deep devotion with which scholars have given themselves to the laborious problems of text, authorship, and source, and we who come in a later day to build on their foundation would indeed be lack-

ing in gratitude were we to reflect in any derogatory way upon their singleness of aim. We should nevertheless realize that a very great part of the scholarship in the Elizabethan field has been of this kind.

¶ But the second group who have failed to see economic and social forces at work in the Elizabethan period cannot be excused on the ground of over-devotion to detail. Their "error hath proceeded from too great a reverence". Led astray by the literature of the age, and disregarding of the social discontent preceding the era and the revolutions succeeding it, these critics have become the authors and adherents of what, for want of a better term, may be called the *glory* theory of Elizabethan life and letters. ¶ This epoch was, they tell us, an age of social calm, a glorious period when the snarl of contending classes died away and the nation gave itself over entirely to the fruits of peace—growing industry and the tremendous wealth of increasing trade—, an age when the ugly commonplaces of class struggle were lost in an unprecedented prosperity, swallowed up in a wonderful and spontaneous enthusiasm. ¶ Then, if ever, the color and beauty of a new life belongs to every individual; then, if ever, a whole people sang. "Life no longer shut within the heavy masonry of the feudal castle ran glittering in the open sunshine".

"In the sixteenth century", writes Ten Brink, "England still fully deserved the name of merry England. Puritan austerity of manner had not yet begun to scorn the gay, lighthearted festivals of the people, nor silence their merry songs. Old customs and ceremonies were observed with particular faithfulness in the country; at stated times of the year processions, games, dances, were organized, many of which had their origin in the dim, hoary past, some echoing the spirit of the Teutonic myths".¹

So also Professor Hales:

"Things had settled down in a wonderful way. The immediate future was no longer wholly obscure and to be mistrusted. Men saw the way before them, at least for a little distance; no longer *ibant sub luce maligna*. And they were resolved to go triumphantly on the way they saw before them. They were conscious of their high destiny and set themselves to fulfil it. They woke from a broken slumber of restlessness and anarchy to find themselves a strong and united people; for indeed the sectaries were comparatively a slight and insignificant element. It was a supreme era in English history—a golden time—a time of exultation and joy".²

Indeed when the literary historians write of the Elizabethan period they lavishly shower their pages with such epithets as *splendid*, *glorious*, *spacious*, *illustrious*, *ne plus ultra*, and sentences whose dizzy climaxes leave us breathless. These are truths, but only half truths, and they give a distorted picture of the age. Having one of its sources no doubt in the Celtic temperament of Taine, such criticism flows in a never-ending stream, and inundates the histor-

¹ *Five Lectures on Shakespeare* (tr. by J. Franklin, New York, 1895) 25.

² J. W. Hales, in the introduction to T. Seccombe and J. W. Allen, *The Age of Shakespeare* (London, 1904) XVII.

ians of literature. Only a few of the critics, notably Jusserand and Sidney Lee, have escaped the spell of words that the Elizabethans themselves wove.

What the masters of literature themselves said of the period, we have accepted at its face value, never questioning their sincerity or their motives. Thus Bacon assures us that it was an age of social calm and unprecedented prosperity:

"As for her government, I assure myself, I shall not exceed, if I do affirm, that this part of the island never had forty-five years of better times; and yet not through the calmness of the season, but through the wisdom of her regiment. . . .

"For if there be considered on the one side, the truth of religion established; the constant peace and security; the good administration of justice; the temperate use of the prerogative, not slackened, nor much strained; the flourishing state of learning, suitable to so excellent a patroness; the convenient estate of wealth and means, both of Crown and subject; the habit of obedience, and the moderation of discontents; and there be considered on the other side the differences of religion; the troubles of neighbor countries; the ambition of Spain, and opposition of Rome; and then, that she was solitary and of herself; these things, I say, considered, as I could not have chosen an instance so recent and so proper, so I suppose I could not have chosen one more remarkable or eminent to the purpose now in hand, which is concerning the conjunction of learning in the prince with felicity in the people".³

Shakespeare witnesses to the same content:

Good grows with her:

In her days every man shall eat in safety,
Under his own vine, what he plants, and sing
The merry song of peace to all his neighbors:
God shall be truly known; and those about her
From her shall read the perfect ways of honour,
And by those claim their greatness, not by blood.⁴

Euphues and His England is so full of praise of the time that it is scarcely necessary to do more than mention its name:

"Infinite were the ensamples that might be alledged, and almost incredible, whereby shee hath shewed hir selfe a Lambe in meekenesse, when she had cause to be a Lion in might, proued a Doue in fauour, when she was prouoked to be an Eagle in fiercenesse, requiting iniuries with benefits, reuenging grudges with gifts, in highest maiestie bearing the lowest minde, forgiuing all that sued for mercie, and forgetting all that deserued iustice. . . .

"This peace hath the Lorde continued with great and vnspeakable goodnesse amonge his chosen people of *England*. How much is that nation bounde to such a Prince, by whome they enioye all benefits of peace, hauing their barnes full, when others famish, their cofers stuffed with gold, when others

³ *Advancement of Learning*, *Everyman's Library* 45-46.

⁴ *Henry VIII* 5. 5. 50-56.

haue no siluer, their wiues without daunger, when others are defamed, their daughters chaste, when others are deflowered, theyr houses furnished, when others are fired, where they haue all thinges for superfluitie, others nothing to sustaine their neede. This peace hath God giuen for hir vertues, pittie, moderation, virginittie, which peace, the same God of peace continue for his names sake."⁵

These passages are by no means unique. Indeed, those familiar with the literature of the time recognize that they are but typical of a praise and flattery that knew no satiety in either speaker or hearer. The Elizabethan prose and poetry with which we are usually familiar are full of the breathless glory of the time,—merry, prosperous England and the generous, virtuous queen. The tyrannical sovereigns who rode rough-shod over English liberties were Richards and Henrys of another day; the Machiavellian princes were Tamburlaines and Barabases who carried out their ruthless plans in far off Persia or Malta. The liberties of Englishmen were won in other times at cost of life and blood; now they were granted in generosity by a protecting and thoughtful queen. And unless we had indeed been disarmed of our critical panoply by the rare quality of the literature,⁶ we would have noticed that praise of government, queen, and ruling class was accompanied by corresponding disesteem of all other classes. The Jack Cades who appeared on the English stage were lawless rebels, "the filth and scum of Kent". The rabble mob, now of one mind now of another, toss their sweaty nightcaps up and run hither and thither led now by caprice, and now by cupidity. These "base mechanicals" by their clownishness, their drunken steps and ribald songs, are in striking contrast to the godlike aspect of the gentlemen at whose hands the drama had its support and encouragement. Nor does the middle class fare much better. Rustic bumpkins appear on the stage to be gulled in poetic justice by the middle class men of the city,—the usurer, the merchant, and the goldsmith, or more humorously yet by the parasites even lower in the social scale, those who having been gulled, have sunk into the company of rogues and vagabonds. The middle class men of the town are made more contemptible still by the ease with which their foolish and frivolous wives become the legitimate prey of the gallants of the court. And Puritanism, the middle class religion, caricatured in silly Malvolio and Zeal-of-the-Land Busy, becomes in the eyes of the aristocratic *litterateur*, a menace that would pull down heaven and confound hell.

From literature such as this, most critics have concluded that there was no discontent in the Elizabethan period. A few, however, mindful that economic unrest usually manifests itself against religious and political institutions, cannot forget that this literature, so redolent of calm and prosperity, was produced under a censorship that ruled such problems out of press and stage with increasing severity. And they conclude that the notes of social content, far from being indicative of calm in the economic state, are, by their very self-consciousness, a sure index of a steadily increasing discontent, and that the Elizabethan

⁵ Lyly, *Complete Works* (ed. by R. W. Bond, Oxford, 1902) 2. 208-211.

⁶ Felix E. Schelling, *Elizabethan Drama* (Boston, 1908) XL.

literature, very far from being the instrument of political and religious progressiveness, was the fullest expression of the forces that were striving to beat it back. }

What these forces were, we must now inquire. The censorship of Elizabeth was the final expression of a policy begun by her father, Henry VIII. He set his face against the future in the censorship proclamation of 1542, important to students of the later literature because it not only recognizes the oneness of interest between the church and state, but also the necessity that press and stage be subservient to them. All books of the Old and New Testament in English, of Tyndal's false translation, or comprising any matter of Christian doctrine, articles of the faith or holy scripture contrary to the doctrines set down sithence Anno. Dom. 1540, or to be set forth by the King, were to be abolished. No printer or bookseller was to set forth any of the aforesaid books. No person was to play in interlude, sing, or rime, contrary to the said doctrine. No person was to retain any English books or writing against the holy and blessed sacrament of the altar, or for the maintenance of anabaptists, or other books abolished by the King's proclamation. The Bible was not to be read in English in any church. No women, or artificers, apprentices, journeymen, serving-men of the degree of yeomen or under, husbandmen or laborers were to read the new Testament in English. Nothing was to be taught or maintained contrary to the King's instructions. And if any one did so teach contrary to the King's will, he should for his first offense recant; for his second, abjure and bear a fagot; and for his third, be judged an heretick and be burned and lose all his goods and chattels.⁷

The Parliament of Edward VI repealed the above drastic law, but when the reaction set in after the fall of Somerset, the King's Privy Council issued in 1549 an order that subjected any English book to censorship:

"An Ordre was taken that from hensforth no prenter sholde prente or putt to vente any Englysshe booke butt suche as sholde first be examined by Mr. Secretary Peter, Mr. Secretary Smith, and Mr. Cicill, or the one of them, and allowed by the same, undre payne," etc.⁸

A great step in advance toward effective censorship was the incorporation of the Stationers' Company in 1556. Centralization of all printing in the hands of one company entirely dependent on royal favor, lessened further the likelihood of undesirable criticism by making it a matter of good business policy for the master and wardens of the favored company to hunt down and destroy whatever illicit presses might come into existence.⁹

⁷ *Statutes of the Realm* 3. 894-7; 34 and 35 Henry VIII, cap. 1. Compare also Proclamation of Henry VIII in 1552, a command for all English printers to put their names to their work, and present a first copy of all work to the mayor of the town, and further a prohibition to sell or publish any English books printed beyond the sea upon the subject of religion, without a license from the king, in Jeremy Collier, *Ecclesiastical History*, (London, 1852) 5. 59.

⁸ *Acts of the Privy Council, 1547-1558*, 312. Cf. the two proclamations of Edward VI quoted in W. C. Hazlitt, *The English Stage and Drama: Documents and Treatises, Roxburghe Library* (London, 1868-1870) 8-14.

The Queen's Injunction of 1559 defined more explicitly yet the power of the censorship:

"The Queen's Majesty straitly chargeth and commandeth, that no manner of person shall print any manner of book or paper, except the same be first licenced by her Majesty by express words in writing, or by six of her Privy Council, or be perused and licenced by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, the Bishop of London, the Chancellors of both Universities, the bishop being ordinary, and the archdeacon also of the place where any such shall be printed, or by two of them, whereof the Ordinary of the place to be always one. And because many pamphlets, plays, and ballads, be often times printed, her Majesty likewise commandeth that no manner of person shall enterprise to print any such, except the same be to him licenced by suche her Majesty's commissioners or three of them, as be appointed in the city of London to hear and determine divers causes ecclesiastical, tending to the execution of certain statutes made last parliament for uniformity of order in religion."⁹

The Star Chamber Ordinances of 1568 tightened the censorship yet more. Every printer had to register an account of his press and materials with the master and wardens of the Company of Stationers. No press was to be allowed outside the city of London except one each in the Universities of Cambridge and Oxford, all to be in places subject to the free inspection by the wardens of the Company of Stationers. The Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, and the High Commissioner in Cases Ecclesiastical should regulate the number of presses and printers. With certain privileged exceptions, nothing should be printed without a license from the above or one of them. The wardens of the Company of Stationers should be the authorized agents to enforce regulations, bringing the offender before the High Commission in Cases Ecclesiastical for examination and punishment. And last of all, the printers' apprentices should be strictly limited.¹⁰

These censorship proclamations and laws are an unmistakable indication that however much the literature might prate of calm and social content, the government felt quite sure that society was in unstable equilibrium, and it must, in the words of judicious Hooker, "Consider not so much how small the spark is that flieth up, as how apt things about it are to take fire". A play, a pamphlet, a ballad, might be the flash that would start a wholesale conflagration.

Supplementary to the increasing control of the press, there were frequent proclamations concerning matters that eluded the censorship.

For example, the laws on the statute books were not sufficient to cope with the Famous Admonition of 1572. Archbishop Parker acknowledged in a letter to Burleigh, "Sir, For all the devices that we can make to the contrary, yet some good fellows still labour to print out the vain 'Admonition to the parliament'. Since the first printing it hath been twice printed, and now with additions, whereof I send your honour one of them. We wrote letters to the mayor and some aldermen of London to lay in wait for the charects, printer,

⁹ Cf. G. W. Prothero, *Select Statutes and Documents* (Oxford, 1894) 188.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 169; cf. also John Strype, *Life and Acts of Whigift* 3. 160-165.

and corrector, but I fear they deceive us. They are not willing to disclose this matter".¹¹ A proclamation from the Queen at this juncture for everyone to deliver up whatever copies he had, seems to have had little result, for the Bishop of London confessed to Burleigh, "The whole Ceittie of London, where no dowt is greate plentie, hath not brought one to my handes".¹² The later development of this controversy brought forth other commands. One of 1589 ordered that all persons who should have in their custody any libels against the order and government of the church of England, or the rites and ceremonies used in it, should deliver the same with convenient speed to their ordinary.¹³

¶ The government took great care that the stage should do its part in fostering the illusion of social calm. As early as May, 1559, there was the familiar proclamation concerning interludes: "the Quenes Maiestie doth straightly forbyd al maner Interludes to be playde, eyther openly, or priuately, except the same be noted before hande, and licenced within any citie or town corporate by the Maior or other chiefe officers of the same, and within any shyre by suche as shal be Lieutenants for the Queenes Maiestie in the same shyre, or by two of the Justices of Peax inhabyting within that part of the shyre where any shalbe played".¹⁴

The instruction to the censors in the same proclamation makes it perfectly plain that a higher morality was not the sole object of the intended regulation: "And for instruction to euery of the sayde officers, her majestie doth likewise charge euery of them as they will aunswere: that they permyt non to be played wherein either matters of religion or of the governance of the estate of the commonweal shalbe handled, or treated; beyng no meete matters to be wrytten or treated vpon, but by menne of authoritie, learning and wisdom, nor to be handled before any audience but of graue and discreete persons".¹⁵

¶ The later laws of 1571 and 1596 requiring all fencers, bearwards, common players of interludes and minstrels wandering abroad, on pain of prosecution as vagabonds to secure the patronage of some member of the nobility, changed the attitude of the stage from one of passive obedience to one of active adherence. "These laws", says C. F. Tucker Brooke, "together with the increasing opposition of the London corporation, greatly enhanced the value to the privileged companies of their relation to their noble patrons, and for a very considerable period caused them to regard the satisfaction of popular audiences as a matter altogether subsidiary to their continuance in favor and reputation before the courtly circle".¹⁶

¶ In stage censorship, as in that of the press, there was the same movement toward centralized power,—control by many merged into control by one. Power of the nobles over the stage passed to an increasing control by the Master of

¹¹ *Correspondence of Archbishop Parker, Parker Society* (Cambridge, 1853) 397.

¹² E. Arber, *Introductory Sketch to the Martin Marprelate Controversy, English Scholars Library* (Westminster, 1895) 23.

¹³ *Life of Whitgift* 3. 216.

¹⁴ *The English Stage and Drama* 19.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* 19.

¹⁶ C. F. Tucker Brooke, *The English Drama* (New York, 1911) 426.

the Revels, directly and absolutely dependent on the will of the sovereign, with the result that however much the discontent might increase, the chances for it to find expression grew correspondingly less.

| Moreover, those who believe in the freedom of the Elizabethan period from economic distress must forget the increasing social discontent that preceded this era, and the tide that mounted to a deluge within thirty years after James assumed sovereignty. They must conceive the "wretched beggary and miserable poverty", the "great wantonness, importunate superfluitie, and excessive riot" of Sir Thomas More's time metamorphosed into peace and contentment. | They must believe that the spider and fly economics described by John Heywood had been abandoned:

But spiders letting farms, and flies holding farms,
Th' one letting farms high, th' other selling victuals dear;
And of all ware sellers each shifteth from harms
By raising his ware, as other wares appear.
But all that on their pensions (or peace) live mere
In windows, without land to let or ware to sell,
Wherever they dwell may think they dwell in hell.¹⁷

They must believe that the antagonistic interests represented by the merchant, the knight, and the ploughman of *Gentleness and Nobilitie*, had been reconciled, as likewise those of the knight, doctor, capper, and husbandman in *The Comweal of this Realm of England*. | Then there was universal dearth in the midst of plenty, a woeful lack of money, a steady increase in conversion of arable land to pasture, a decay of towns, townships, and villages, and an increasing diversity and division in religious opinions and beliefs. | We find it hard to believe that the above, along with Simon Fish, Robert Crowley, John Hale, and Bishop Latimer, were inveighing against conditions that would in so short a time end miraculously in unprecedented calm.

| As a matter of fact, Elizabeth inherited the accumulated woes of the four previous reigns and all the troubles that such long-standing evils bring in their train. And far from her having "enough to do without handling economic problems",¹⁸ examination of the laws and proclamations of the time proves without a doubt that these were her first concern. And as from long range we contemplate the part that Elizabeth played in the long historical drama that culminated in the Puritan Revolution and the Revolution of 1688, we understand how exceedingly urgent were these problems of economic and social import. The shifting of power from the land classes to the trade interests of the nation left many an economic grievance in its wake, and a government whose balance of power grew increasingly small was bound by its hope of existence to minimize social discontent to the very limit of its ability. Mighty forces were these, however, that were swinging the English nation, and surface legislation had little or no permanent effect. Elizabeth could put the coinage on a firm basis,

¹⁷ Heywood, *The Spider and the Flye* (ed. by John S. Farmer, London, 1908) 197.

¹⁸ Vida Scudder, *Social Ideals in English Literature* (Boston, 1898) 80.

but she could not restore to homes and prosperity the thousands ruined by the previous financial policy of her father and her brother. Indeed the rise in prices only widened the discrepancy between wages and prices, and the poor continued to get poorer. She could make poor laws, establish hospitals and houses of correction, legislate for rogues and vagabonds, and fix wages—but all to little avail.¹⁹ Posterity decides that her best efforts, well meaning as they were, availed little to check the growing enslavement of the English workman.²⁰ Legislation against enclosures was of little use. High prices and superior profits in wool inevitably routed the peasant farmer from his little holding and made him a member of the brotherhood of thieves and vagabonds. As the slow returns from land had to compete with the quick returns from trade, the movement of the people from land to trade was irresistible, and the many laws aimed to turn or stem the tide were but making the flood more powerful against the day when it should finally break through the walls. Elizabeth's endeavor throughout her long reign was to pour oil on the troubled water.¹

¹⁹ Cf. R. H. Tawney, *The Agrarian Problem in the Sixteenth Century* 193: "The brilliant age which begins with Elizabeth gleams against a background of social misery and squalor."

²⁰ J. E. Thorold Rogers, *Six Centuries of Work and Wages: The History of English Labor* (London, 1884) 2. 125.

II

HOW DEKKER REFLECTS THE ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF HIS TIME.

The plays and pamphlets of Thomas Dekker are peculiarly suited for a study of the economic and social issues that underlay the social tension in Elizabethan England. London, the center of the clash between the interests of trade and of land, church, and government, was his birthplace.²¹ So far as we can discover, he was of the middle class, and so far as we may judge, he had all of its sympathies and limitations. The din of the class conflict was about his ears from his earliest infancy. The year 1572, the probable year of his birth,²² saw the light of the famous admonition. In this same year Burleigh and the bishop were searching about London—Dekker calls it “my cradle”—for “the charects, the printers, and the corrector”. In Dekker’s childhood days, London must have followed fervently the replies and counter-replies of the Whitgift-Cartwright controversy; as he grew into his teens, the echoes of the Martin Marprelate quarrel were about his ears; and in his early manhood, he may well have heard Richard Hooker and Walter Travers, as morning and afternoon they debated the issues of church government in the Temple.

| By 1572 the social and economic policies of Elizabeth were well established. The royal supremacy over church and religion had been affirmed, the prayer book had been revised and the thirty-nine articles ratified; the censorship over stage and press had been established, with the discussion of religion and government ruled out of both; the statute of apprentices had been passed; a system of taxation had been instituted for the support of the poor; paupers and vagabonds had been differentiated; houses of correction had been established, and rogue and vagabond statutes passed; the adjustment of wages had been delegated to the justices of the peace; and the coinage had been restored. Such legislation is not indicative of complete calm and total prosperity; it hints of possible discord, misery, and suffering. To determine the viewpoint of Dekker grown to manhood, at the time when the prosperity and the discontent were at their highest and lowest, is the objective of this paper.

| That Dekker was brought up in a Puritan section of the middle class is evident from his range of interest, and his emphasis on Puritan virtues, all set forth in writing so distinguished for its scriptural tone that one is forced to believe that he knew the Bible better than he knew any other book. The Elizabethan world he gives us is quite different from the one we come to know from the pages of Shakespeare. In Dekker, the middle and lower class citizens are not introduced for comic relief, nor for contrast with the proper heroes and heroines of the noble and royal world. Here they are themselves the protagonists and we follow their fortunes with the interest that inheres in them as

²¹ Mary Leland Hunt, *Thomas Dekker* (Columbia University Press, 1911) 11.

²² *Ibid.* 12.

²³ Cf. A. F. Lange’s critical essay on Dekker in C. M. Gayley, *Representative English Comedies* (New York, 1914) 3. 12.

members of the fraternity of man. On this account some critics have called Dekker the best democrat of his age.²⁴ As for his emphasis on Puritan virtues, let me refer the reader to the chapter that follows on Dekker's relation to the church and religion.

[Oriental figures of speech, dignified diction, beautiful simplicity—outstanding qualities of Biblical style—characterize the prose style of almost any passage from Dekker that may be selected.] Writing such as this speaks for itself: "More did I behold thus Sleeping, then euer I could before, when my eies were wide open. I climbed to the tops of all the trees in Paradise, and eate sweeter Apples than *Adam* euer tasted, I went into the Star-Chamber of Heauen, where Kings and Princes were set to Barre, and when the Court arose, I fed upon *manna* at a table with Angels. *Ierusalem* was the Pallace I liued in, and Mount *Sion* the hil, from whose top, I was dazled with glories brighter then Sun-beames."²⁵ As with Bunyan, Ruskin, and Carlyle, the simplicity and beauty of Biblical language seems to have been wrought into Dekker's style by early and long acquaintance.

Since it cannot be proved that Dekker attended either university, and as his writing shows little likelihood of his having done so, we are led to conclude that the Puritan tone of mercantile London was about him most of his life. The argument that he must have known a soldier's life in the Netherlands because he speaks often of the Lowlands, pities poor soldiers, and is adept at Dutch jargon in his plays, is rather negated when we remember that all dramatists of the period speak of broken soldiers and the Netherlands, and that London at the time was full of Flemish refugees turned out of their homes by the Spanish wars. This argument is no more conclusive than the familiar observation that Shakespeare must have been worsted by the law because he speaks so bitterly in regard to the justice of the time. Poor soldiers broken in the Netherlands and the prevailing injustice were stock in trade for all Elizabethan writers. They were merely manifestations of an economic distress that confronted the people daily.

[This middle class Londoner was yet better suited to mirror the social and economic conditions because he seems to have been little interested in ideas for their own sake. He was not theoretical or doctrinaire.²⁶ For that reason, his writings as they stand may be taken to reflect the characteristic thought of the time rather than the extemporizing of one man. He seems to have been a sensitive barometer of public opinion.]

[Because Dekker was thus a man of little intellectuality in the severer sense of the term, any student who essays to admire him *in toto* must find himself repeatedly disappointed. The dominant element in intellect—power to see relationships and draw conclusions—is one that we look for in vain. Lack of structure, inconsistency, unfinished work, endless collaboration, repeated re-

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ *Dekker His Dreame, in The Non-Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker* (ed. by Alexander B. Grosart, London, 1884) 3, 11-12.

²⁶ Cf. Lange's critical essay, 12: "Original in assimilating, but scantily endowed with the reactive power that converted London into an illuminating symbol for Shakespeare."

working of the same vein, page after page of wholesale plagiarism—these the student finds all too often. Plays and prose alike show lamentable lack of structure.²⁷ Scenes introduced for the sake of racy dialogue; episodes that too frequently find their sole interest in the Elizabethan appreciation of the unusual and the unhealthy—grotesque scenes in houses of correction, prisons, insane asylums, and bawdy houses; lack of development of main themes and unreasonable devotion to minor interests;—these are all too familiar in the make-up of the Dekker plays.† Often the vein is worked after all the gold is extracted; sometimes as in *The Worke for Armourours*, the finish is too abrupt; and frequently the reader feels that the writer was driven to his task with little joy or purpose in him. So many of the plays and prose pamphlets have this deficiency in sound structure that critics are wont to apply hard names to Dekker. One calls him “a hackwriter and a slave”, another “a hack without ideas”, whose work was made still less dignified by a “total lack of the brooding faculty, the austere enthusiasm of a great artist for his art”.

The general agreement among critics that Dekker's carelessness was due in part at least to the conditions under which he wrote, but serves to recommend his writings the more strongly for a study of social conditions. Dekker, says Jusserand, is “another of those authors whose biography can be summed up in the words: poverty, talent, Henslowe quarrels, prison”.²⁸ Whipple applies to him the words of Johnson, “Toil, envy, want, the patron, and the jail”.²⁹ R. B. McKerrow says, “In all probability a hard, hand-to-mouth sort of existence, whose only incident was an occasional visit to the debtor's prison.”³⁰ Ward remarks that he had more than his share of the difficulties that beset the playwright's profession;³¹ Grosart sees behind all of his work the dinner demanding urgency;³² and Lange observes, “Nor is the serenity of perfect mastery ever likely to be his who stands in daily fear of the Counter”.³³ Miss Hunt alone feels that too much has been made of Dekker's poverty.³⁴ She finds in all his early work an independence and buoyancy quite incompatible with dread of sordid specters, and urges that inasmuch as casual imprisonment in the Counter was the usual thing for men of his class and profession, we must not make too much of it. She cannot, however, escape the notes of distress that are heard in his later work, and frankly recognizes therein the constant fear of poverty and the shade of the prison. To my notion, the sagest comment on Dekker's poverty is in Fleay's *Chronicle*, where he refers to Dekker as the “saddest story in all this book”.³⁵

The strongest evidence that Dekker felt driven in his work is his pitiful dependence on public favor. A numbing fear that the nice souls will loath his

²⁷ A. C. Swinburne, *The Age of Shakespeare* (London, 1908) 62.

²⁸ J. J. Jusserand, *Literary History of the English People* (New York, 1895.) 2. 548.

²⁹ *Literature of the Age of Elizabeth* (Boston, 1878) 132.

³⁰ Introduction to *The Guls Horne Booke* (London, 1904).

³¹ *History of English Dramatic Literature* (Oxford, 1899) 2. 454.

³² 5, 237.

³³ Critical essay, 18.

³⁴ P. 80.

³⁵ F. G. Fleay, *Chronicle of the English Drama* (London, 1891) 1. 120.

lowly notes confounds him before he begins.³⁶ "To come to the presse is more dangerous, then to bee prest to death, for the payne of those Tortures, lasts but a few minutes, but he that lyes vpon the rack in print, hath his flesh torne off by the teeth of *Enuy*, and *Calumny*, euen when he meanes no body any hurt in his graue. . . . Take heed of *Criticks*, they bite (like fish) at any thing, especially at bookes".³⁷ "Go to one and offer a cobby, if it be merrie, the man likes no light Stuffe, if sad, it will not sell. Another meddles with nothing but what fits the time. I would haue his shop stufte with nothing but proclamations, because he lyes i' the winde only for the change of weather".³⁸ "A thousand palats must bee pleased with a thousand sawces; and one hundred lines must content fye hundred dispositions. . . . He is tyed to a stake like a Beare to be baited that comes into Paules Church-yard to bee read".³⁹

How often do we hear notes like the following in his work,—plaintive, pitiful notes! "If my manner of Fight doe get out applause, the Belman shall shortly bid you to another Prize".⁴⁰ "Beare with the error: and the rather, because it is not wilfully committed".⁴¹ Nothing that is set downe is tedious, because I had a care of thy memorie. Nothing is done twice, because thou mayst take delight in them. If thou art yong, here is pleasure for thee; if old, here is comfort; if thou art poore, here is riches; if thou hast enough, here is more".⁴² All of these words have the solicitation of the man anxious to please; under compulsion indeed to find out the fickle pleasure of the public, and if possible come within the range of its favor.

† The study of Dekker is significant from the economic standpoint for still another reason. Besides being of the middle class with its sympathies and limitations, besides being a sensitive mirror to his age, rather than an intellectual interpreter of it,—a mirror rendered the more sensitive by necessity as the years went by,—besides all this he becomes a clearer exponent of the economic clash because he early allied himself with the stage, quite completely under government control. By birth and environment he had the ethics and beliefs of the Puritan middle class; by alliance with the stage, he assumed allegiance to ethics, principles, and a program of life more or less opposed thereto. The gentle soul of Dekker became the battleground where the growing tendency toward democracy, expressed on the one hand by aristocratic Presbyterianism, and on the other by democratic Congregationalism, came into conflict with monarchical Anglicanism. Belief in increasing delegation of power to the people contended with belief in increasing delegation of power to the sovereign; the ethics of the land forces contended with the ethics of the market and trade. Reformation asceticism struggled with Renaissance joy of living.]

³⁶ *Old Fortunatus*, Pearson 2. 1.

³⁷ *Newes from Hell*, Grosart 2. 89.

³⁸ *Iests to Make You Merrie*, Grosart 2. 89.

³⁹ *A Strange Horse Race*, Grosart 3. 311.

⁴⁰ *The Belman of London*, Grosart 3. 67.

⁴¹ *The Wonderful Year*, Grosart 1. 82.

⁴² *The Foure Birdes of Noah's Arke*, Grosart 5. 8.

III

DEKKER AND THE LAND PROBLEM

PART I.

How completely Dekker expressed the economic problems of his age may be seen by comparing the index pages of the Statutes of the Realm with the pictures of the time that we find in his pages. Through the reigns of Edward VI and Mary, the statutes divide rather equally into three classes: (1) statutes having to do with religion; (2) statutes having to do with enclosures,—how to prevent enclosures, how to increase tillage and the grain supply, and how to take care of the beggars, rogues and vagabonds resulting from enclosures; and (3) statutes having to do with encouragement of control of trades. Elizabeth, however, early settled upon her religious policy, and less and less were matters of religion permitted to come to the consideration of Parliament. Once the general policy had been determined, religious questions were, for the safety of the state, deemed proper subject for injunction and proclamation, archbishop, high commission, and privy council. Accordingly, the statutes fell more and more into two parts, those that took care of enclosures with their attendant evils, and those that took care of increased trade.

The enclosure evils of the Elizabethan age stagger the imagination. To be sure, we have our own agrarian tragedy. Our farmers sell below cost, and are forced out of their holdings. Helpless and full of despair,—the prey of railroads and markets and money lenders,—they become tenants where formerly they were owners. Yet their agrarian misery comes not near the dweller in the city, who hears little of it and is able to ignore it. But the enclosure evils of the age of Elizabeth were great enough to force themselves upon Parliament after Parliament. They became the chief concern of queen, star-chamber, and commission upon commission. In the opinion of the queen and her councillors, the very safety of the state rested upon their ability to palliate or check these evils. How much the agrarian situation claimed the attention of the public may be gathered from the fact that Dekker, London born and London bred, cried out upon its attendant miseries in pamphlet after pamphlet and in play after play.

Upon the analysis of the constituents that entered into the general cause of the enclosure movement, whole volumes have been written. The decrease in labor supply on account of the Black Death, the breakdown of custom and tradition as the new nobles of the Tudors and Stuarts came into possession of the soil, the advance in the price of wool for various causes—war in the Netherlands, loss of the Spanish wool supply, immigration of Flemish weavers to England, increase of manufacture—, the debased coinage of Henry VIII and Edward VI, the restored coinage of Elizabeth, the influx of silver from the new world, the increase of wheat-growing in the Baltic regions, the export duties on corn at home, the imitation of countries older in economic develop-

ment,—these enter into fascinating relationships whose beginning is hard to discover and whose course is difficult to trace. For this study, however, the causes of the movement are less important than its effects.

Indeed, whatever the real causes of the enclosure movement may have been, every Parliament that met in the two reigns preceding Elizabeth had to wrestle with its effects. How to increase tillage and the grain supply, how to prevent the decay of houses and towns, how to keep down agrarian riots, how to take care of the impotent poor, and how to punish beggars, thieves and vagabonds—these were the problems that gave the legislators many bad hours. Some of the most important of the statutes having to do with the land problem alone are the following: 1 of Edward VI, cap. 4, on enclosures; 2 and 3 of Edward VI, cap. 12, assurance to tenants; 3 and 4 of Edward VI, cap. 3, concerning commons and waste ground; 5 and 6 of Edward VI, cap. 5, for maintenance of tillage and increase of corn; and 2 and 3 of Phillip and Marie, cap. 2, concerning decayed tillage. The year 1549 seems to have been an unusually stirring one for agrarian troubles. May 22 of that year brought forth a proclamation from the Lord Protector for stay of the people's attempts to break down enclosures,⁴³ and in June and July of the same year, as the Calendar of State Papers records, Somerset requested Henry, Marquis of Dorset, and Francis, Earl of Huntington, to publish the proclamations against the assembling of lewd persons to throw down enclosures, and to hold themselves in readiness to suppress insurrections.⁴⁴ In the following July the Calendar mentions Somerset's letters⁴⁵ to the Commissioners for redress of unlawful enclosures, and instructions for the execution of the Statutes of 4 of Henry VII and 7 and 27 of Henry VIII relative thereto. The same month brings letters from Sir Thomas Darcy and Sir John Gates to Cecil, complaining of the insufficiency of the commission concerning the decay of houses of husbandry, enclosures, and the like, and showing the need of further powers in several specified points.⁴⁶

The great share of attention that enclosures received in the statutes of the realm and in the office of the Lord Protector was more than matched by the outpouring of complaint in ballad, sermon, and pamphlet. The sheep that Sir Thomas More had written of in the preceding reign, grown so great devourers and so wild that they ate up and swallowed down the very men themselves, had grown no tamer. The noblemen and gentlemen and abbots continued to enclose all in pastures. They still threw down houses, plucked down towns, and turned the churches into sheep folds. And the husbandmen, poor, silly, wretched souls, continued to be thrust out of doors and wandered forth till they had spent what little they had, and then had nothing to do but steal and be hanged, or turn vagabonds and be cast into prison. A characteristic tract is that entitled, "Certayne causes gathered together wherein is showed the decay

⁴³ *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1547-1580*, 16.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.* 18.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* 20.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* 20.

of England only by the great multitude of shepe,"⁴⁷ valuable, notwithstanding possible inaccuracies, for the estimate it gives of the amount of destitution resulting from enclosures. Nor can one fail to mention the eloquent indignation of Robert Crowley's *Way to Wealth*: "Cormerauntes, gredye gulle; yea, men that would eate vp menne, women, & childryn, are the causes of Sedition! They take our houses ouer our headdes, they bye our growndes out of our handes, they reyse our rentes, they leauie great (yea vnreasonable) fines, they enclose oure commons! No custome, no lawe or statute can kepe them from oppressyng vs in such sorte that we knowe not whyche waye to turn us to lyve."⁴⁸

Of the sermons against enclosures, those of Bishop Latimer are probably best known: "We have good statutes", he says, "made for the commonwealth, as touching commoners and enclosers; many meetings and sessions; but in the end of the matter there cometh forth nothing."⁴⁹ . . . Furthermore, if the king's honour, as some men say, standeth in the great multitude of people; then these graziers, inclosers, and rent-rearers, are hinderers of the King's honour. For where as have been a great many householders and inhabitants, there is now but a shepherd and his dog."⁵⁰

Simon Fish, John Hale, and John Heywood, along with many a writer whose name has been lost to us,—W. S., for example, of *The Common Weal of this Realm of England*—, poured forth continual protest against forces that they saw changing their Merrie England into a sorry abode for thieves, beggars and vagabonds.

Nor, contrary to popular literary opinion, was there any cessation of the enclosure movement with the accession of Elizabeth. From 1562 on, there is a constant succession of statutes against enclosures and for increase of tillage,—a succession that rises to a crescendo in 1597, the year of the great famine. 5 of Elizabeth, cap. 2 provided for increase of tillage; 8 of Elizabeth, cap. 5, (P.A.) for enclosure of Plumstead Marsh; and 13 of Elizabeth, cap. 13, for increase of tillage. 14 of Elizabeth, cap. 11 re-enacted the previous statute; 14 of Elizabeth, cap. 1 (P. A.) concerned Plumstead Marsh again; and 23 of Elizabeth, cap. 13 concerned enclosure of Earith as well as Plumstead. The same year offers a succession of private acts for rebuilding of towns, denization, rent charges, and increase of copy holdings. 27 of Elizabeth, cap. 4 is against fraudulent conveyances; cap. 27 of the same concerns Plumstead Marsh; 29 of Elizabeth, cap. 5, sect. VIII concerns increase of tillage; and 31 of Elizabeth, cap. 7 provides that no house shall be built in the country unless with four acres of ground attached. 35 of Elizabeth, cap. 6 is directed against enclosure of commons or waste ground in Westminster or London. 35 of Elizabeth, cap. 7 re-enacts previous tillage laws with partial repeal of 5 of Elizabeth, cap. 2 and 39 of Elizabeth, cap. 1.

The Parliament of 1597, in the thirty-ninth year of Elizabeth's reign, was

⁴⁷ *Four Supplications, Early English Text Society, extra series* 13. XVIII.

⁴⁸ *E. E. T. S., e. s.* 15. 132.

⁴⁹ *Sermons, Parker Society Publications* (ed. by G. E. Corrie, Cambridge, 1844) 101.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.* 100.

given over entirely to the consideration of enclosures and their attendant evils. When the Parliament met in October, Sir Francis Bacon pointed out "that the overflowing of the people here, makes a shrinking and abate elsewhere. . . . And though it may be thought ill and very prejudicial to Lords that have enclosed great grounds, and pulled down even whole towns, and converted them to sheep pastures; yet considering the increase of people and the benefit of the commonwealth, I doubt not but that every man will deem the revival of former moth-eaten laws in this point a praise-worthy thing. For in matters of policy ill is not to be thought ill, which bringeth forth good. For inclosure of grounds brings depopulation, which brings first, idleness, secondly decay of Tillage, thirdly subversion of Houses, and decay of Charity, and charges to the Poor, fourthly impoverishing the state of the Realm".⁵¹

"In the end of which said speech", D'Ewes records, "the said Mr. Bacon did move the House that a commission might be appointed to consider of the said matter touching inclosures".⁵² The findings of the committee resulted in two statutes, 39 of Elizabeth, cap. 1, versus decay of houses and husbandry, and 39 of Elizabeth, cap. 2, for maintenance of husbandry. The second is interesting for the backward glance it throws over the whole matter of tillage and enclosures: "Whereas from the XXVII yeare of Kinge Henry the Eighte of famous memory untill the five and thirtieth yeare of Her Majesties moste happy Reigne, there was allwayes in force some Lawe whiche did ordeyne a conversion and continuance of a certayne quantitie and proporcion of Lande in Tillage not to be altered; and that in the laste Parliamente helde in the said five and thirtieth yeare of Her Majesties Reigne, partlie by reason of the greate plentie & cheapness of Graine at that tyme within this Realme, and partely by reason of the imperfection and obscuritie of the Lawe made in that case, the same was discontinued; since whiche time there have growen manie more depopulacions, by turning Tillage into Pasture, then at anie time for the like number of yeares heretofore; Be yt enacted . . ." ⁵³ and the bill goes on to provide that all fields converted to pasture since the 17th of November in the first year of Her Majesty's reign, the same fields having been in tillage for twelve years before the conversion, shall be returned to the former state, and all persons transgressing the law shall pay a penalty of twenty shillings a year for each acre involved. That this law was "too weak for the disease" is evident from the Commission Report of 1607. "It is", says Professor Gay, "probably under rather than over the truth to say that in the century and a half before 1607 something over half a million acres of cultivated ground was taken out of the hands of the tillers of the soil and enclosed for sheep pasture".⁵⁴

When the tillage statutes of 39 of Elizabeth came up for repeal in 1601, "Mr. Secretary Cecill said, I do not dwell in the Country, I am not acquainted with the Plough: But I think that whoever doth not maintain the Plough,

⁵¹ D'Ewes, *Journal of Parliaments of Elizabeth* (London, 1862) 551.

⁵² *Ibid.*

⁵³ *Statutes of the Realm*, vol. 4, pt. 2, pp. 893-4.

⁵⁴ *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 17. 587.

destroys this Kingdom. . . . Undo this Statute and you endanger many thousands".⁵⁵

The *Calendar of State Papers* corroborates the governmental interest in enclosures disclosed by examination of the *Statutes of the Realm*. The Queen who came forth like a bird of Paradise, ruffled, befurbelowed, and jeweled, striking terror and admiration alike to the hearts of kneeling courtiers, was the queen of fairyland. Never a suspicion in look, action, or appearance that she had come from a session where she had had to be a queen of realities,—where she had had to pore over the draft of a bill for increase of tillage,⁵⁶ and run her eye over the lords' committees for the same;⁵⁷ where she had had to make notes on the inconveniences that arise from engrossers, forestallers, and regrators, and meditate on the bill for confirmation of 5 of Edward VI against them;⁵⁸ where she had had perhaps to scrutinize the list of forty prisoners indicted for offense against the statutes of 1 of Marie, condemning to death for felony two score or more of persons who meet tumultuously to overthrow enclosures.⁵⁹ Perhaps she had just written her instructions to the president and the council, ordering among other things that "They shall look after and redress all wrongful taking of commons, decay of husbandry, and oppression of the poor; and if they find any malefactor of great wealth, cause the extremity of law to be publicly executed against him, for example's sake, yet so that the common people do not violently redress themselves, but wait the redress of law".⁶⁰ She could have found the basis for her recommendations in memorials sent to her six years earlier, counselling:

"That letters be written to certain discreet gentlemen in every county, to inquire secretly of the unlawful taking in of commons, and decay of houses in parts near to them, . . .

"That letters be written to the Lord Wardens, justices, and other principal gentlemen of the Borders, to enquire as to the decay of houses and tillage, and how the same may be helped, and not to permit further decay.

"That like commission be sent to inquire what is done by virtue of former commissions toward executing the Statute of Queen Mary for enclosings upon the frontiers, and why the whole orders taken by the Commissioners are not put in execution".⁶¹

As we read, on the one hand, the state papers and statutes of the time with their emphasis on the pressing need of prompt action to stave off disaster to the state, and then meditate on the picture of English society presented in most Elizabethan literature, we find warranty indeed for Shakespeare's remark that "all the world's a stage". In his *Thought and Expression in the Sixteenth Century*, H. O. Taylor advances the theory that the Elizabethans were carried

⁵⁵ *D'Ewes* 674.

⁵⁶ *C. of P. S., Dom. 1547-1580*, 222, 412, 492.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.* 412.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.* 463, 518.

⁵⁹ *C. of S. P., Dom., Addenda, 1566-1579*, 83.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.* 465.

⁶¹ *Ibid.* 65.

out of reality by their new-found power of expression; that the fine imaginings they proclaimed so loudly they came themselves to believe.⁶² Whatever the psychological possibilities may be of coming to believe whatever is proclaimed and reiterated, especially with governmental authority to back it, one can see that economically and politically the literature of calm and content was, for a government in hard straits indeed, what a biologist might call protective coloration. |

| On the land problem and its attendant evils, the best Dekker that we know speaks forth. The lofty euphuistic tone and the high sounding phrases that pervade his prose when he is merely posing, are abandoned, and the elaborate metaphorical language of the intellect yields to the simple and direct expression of the emotions. Sometimes he speaks in a poignant minor, full of grief and sorrow, acutely sensitive to the misery and woe that follow the steps of covetousness; sometimes he is sharp and biting in his satire, full of a class consciousness whose bitterness cannot be doubted; sometimes he drops his pointed speech in mocking raillery, and in jesting lightness strikes forth the telling figure of speech, the phrase whose sting cannot cease to rankle. /

The Belman of London looks out with piercing eyes into the country, and remarks:

"I began to hate it wore than (before) I loued it. I fell to dispraise it faster than euer I did commend it. For I found it full of care, and full of craft; full of labour and yet full of penury; I saw the poore husbandman made a slaue to the rich farmour; the farmour racked by his landlord; I saw that couetousnesse made deere yeares when she had fullest barnes; and to curse plentie for being liberal of her blessings. I had heard of no sinne in the Cittie, but I met it in the village; nor any *Vice* in the tradesman, which was not in the ploughman".⁶³

The undercurrent of pain that characterizes such writing as this changes in the *Worke for Armorours* to a rather bitter class consciousness. Written presumably in 1609, the year after the *Belman of London*, it echoes the conditions that called forth the Enclosure Commission of 1607. The aphorism,

God helpe the Poore,
The rich can shift,⁶⁴

strikes the keynote of the pamphlet on the title page. The plague "a purple whip of vengeance", having closed all London playhouses, and turned the comedies to tragedies and the tragedies to nocturnals, the poet for amusement ferried over the Hellespont to the bear garden to see the company of the bears play their tragi-comedies. But no sooner was he entered than the very noise of the place put him in mind of hell: "The beare (dragd to the stake) shewed like a black rugged soule, that was Damned, and newly committed to the infernall *Churle*, the *Dogges* like so many *Diuils* inflicting torments upon it".

⁶² 2, 183-184.

⁶³ *The Belman of London*, Grosart 3. 112.

⁶⁴ *Worke for Armorours*, Grosart 4. 87.

Then did he see as the dogs fought with the bears a lusty representation of poor men contending with rich men at law. The dogs might now and then pinch the great ones, and perhaps vex them a little by drawing a few drops of blood from them, but in the end they commonly were crushed, and either were carried away with ribs broken, or their skins torn and hanging about their ears, or else (how great soever their hearts were at the first encounter) they stood at the last, whining at their strong adversaries, when they durst not, or could not beat them. In the whipping of the blind bear having seen a representation of poor starved wretches dragged to the whipping post, and in the antics of the ape in his coat of changeable colors, the unfortunate condition of old soldiers and old servitors, compelled by the vileness of the time to follow the heels of asses with trappings, ignore their vices, and flatter their greatness, he betook himself to an enjoyment of history, there in lively imagination to find the physic that would cure the sick in mind. But as he dwelt in contemplation, a gloomy darkness crept upon the brightness of the morning: "On a suddaine all the aire was filled with noise, as if heauen had bin angry, and chid the earth for her Villanies; people rush headlong together, like torrents running into the sea, full of fury in shew, but loosing the effect of doing violence, because they know not how to do it; their rage and madnesse burning in them like fire in wet straw, it made a great stinking smoake, but had no flame".

As the poet made serious inquiry into the uproar, he found that the quarrel was old, the enmity mortal, and the enemies puissant and fierce. Money, swelling up her bosom with pride, covetousness, and ambition because of the golden mines of the West and East Indies, had begun to despise of late the ranks of Poverty and had "labored by all possible courses not onely to driue the subjects of *Poverty* from hauing commerce in any of her rich & so populous cities, but also wrought (by the cruelty of her own ministers, and those about her) to roote the name, not onely of that infortunate and deieted Princess from the earth, but euen to banish all her people to wander into desarts, & to perish, she cared not how or where".

"Herevpon strict proclamation went thundering vp and downe her dominions, charging her wealthy subiects, not to negotiate any longer with those beggers that flocke dayly to her kingdome, strong guards were planted at euery gate, to barre their entrance into Cities; whipping-postes and other terrible engines were aduanced in every street to send them home bleeding new, if they were taken wandering, (like sheep broken out of leane pastures into fat) out of their owne liberties".

Thereupon the army of Poverty grew desperate and vowed to take a stand; from their Cades they took brave fire of resolution and said that "*they would dy like men though they were but poore knaues*, and counted the stinkards and scum of the world". Infinite multitudes were soon gathered together and their councillors, Discontent, Hunger, Sloth, Industry, Despair, Carelessness, Repining, Beggary, and Misery began to plan the campaign. Nor was Money idle. With her wise councillors, Covetousness, Providence, Parsimonie, Deceit, Mono-

poly, Violence, and Usury, she entered into the city of which Hardheartedness had been given the keys to keep, and sent forth a proclamation:

"To all and Singular our Shires, Countries, Cities, Corporations, Townes, Villages, Hamblets, etc., by what title or name soeuer, to whose these presents shall come, and to all you our obedient Subjects, Slaves, and Vassailes, commonly stiled by the names of Moneymongers, viz. rich farmers, young Landlords, Engrossers, Graziers, Forestallers, Hucksters, Haglers, etc. . . . greeting".

After directions to rich farmers to advance, raise and heighten prices, and hoard up corn until the scurvy of worse diseases may run through the army of Poverty, Money next directs the young landlords with all their might and main to stretch the rents until the heart strings of renters be ready to break asunder. She directs them to racke their poor neighbors, call in the old leases and turn out old tenants—those their fathers suffered quietly to enjoy their livings—, change their copy, cancel their old evidence, erase out all works of charity, undo them in a minute that have stood the storms of many an age, make the least of such poor snakes. She told them when they let their land to carry many eyes in their heads, look into every acre, into every bush, every turf, every blade of grass to the full, that those who take the land may make nothing by it, no, not so much as shall keep a blackbird or a sparrow; turn forty pence an acre into forty shillings and laugh at the dead gaffers for not knowing how to make profits as their sons do.

The proclamation of Money brought in its train all the evils with which England was familiar:

"The Farmers clapt their hands, Graziers went vp and downe shrugging their shoulders, Land-lords set all the Scriueners in the country to worke to draw leases, conueiances, defeisances, and I know not what: in three market daies, dearth was made clearke of the market, the rich Curmudgeons made as though they were sorry; but the poor Husbandman looked heauily, his wife wrang her hands, his children pined, his hyndes grumbled, his lean ouer-wrought Jades bit on the bridle".

Now this description of the land situation is valuable not only for its detailed account of how an Elizabethan thought that enclosures came about, but also for the attention it gives as to why they came about. In spite of the fact that Dekker's mind was not of the constructive bent, in this pamphlet he comes close at least to seeing the vicious circle in which the causes moved. He was undoubtedly right in recognizing a close relation between the influx of wealth from the East and West Indies and the growth of all the evils enumerated above. Whether the wealth came in the form of bullion or in the form of trading profits, the result was the same so far as profits from land were concerned. High prices compelled enclosures, and enclosures compelled high prices.

So far had government and society departed from its theoretical stability that Dekker rather keenly enjoyed anything that tended to upset it still more. There was a chance of a shift that would result in greater justice. As the

plague swept the country there was for him a certain humor in the anxiety of the landlord lest some villain would become his heir, a certain rejoicing in the impartiality of death:

villaines their hopes do honey,
And rich men looke as pale as their white money:

.
Now each wise-acred Landlord did dispaire,
Fearing some villaine should become his heire,

.
And each vast Landlord dyes lyke a poore slaue.
Their thousand acres makes them but a graue.⁶⁵

The "rich cubs" lurk in shamble smelling rooms amid loathsome prospect, while ruffians ransack their fine houses. What fear drives the coward rich man "being told that the selfe-same bodie of his, which is now so pampered with superfluous fare, so perfumed and bathed in odoriferous waters, and so gaily appparelled in varietie of fashions, must one day be throwne . . . into a rank and rotten grave"! What dismay fills his heart when having gotten safely out of the city of calamity with his gold, plate, jewels and heir, to the parks and palaces of the country, he hears a voice say, "But open thine eyes, thou Foole, and behold that darling of thine eye (thy sonne) turned suddainly into a lumpe of clay: the pestilence hath smote him euen vnder thy wing"! Not content with this heaping up of woe on the poor rich man, Dekker goes on to find a certain satisfaction in the refusal of the sweaty hind to bear forth the burden of sorrow: "That weather-beaten sun-burnt drudge, that not a month since fawned vpon thy Worship like a Spaniell, and like a bond-slave, would haue stoopt lower than thy feete, does now stoppe his nose at they presence, and is ready to set his Mastiue as hye as thy throate, to drive thee from his doore; all thy gold and siluer cannot hire one of those (whom before thou didst scorne) to carry the dead body to his last home".⁶⁶

Nor had Dekker disposed of the oppressors of the poor when he almost gleefully had taken them off in a righteous plague. He found a pleasure in recognizing them in Hell, the landlords who ate men alive in the country,⁶⁷ the courtiers who wore whole families in their shoestrings. The relentlessness of Hell begins at the crossing of Acheron, "for there's no regard of age, of sex, of beauty, of riches, of valor, of learning, of greatness, or of birth: He that coves in first, sits no better than the last". "Kings and Clownes, Soldiers and Cowards, Churchmen and Sextons, Aldermen and Cobblers, are all alike to Charon". Courtiers with whole trunks of apparell and grants of monopolies, lawyers laden with leases, clergymen pursy and windless with bearing of three or four church livings, merchants laden with bags of gold stolen from the customs—Charon strips them all of their riches and reduces them to a state of

⁶⁵ *The Wonderfull Year*, Grosart 1. 90-91.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.* 108.

⁶⁷ *Newes from Hell*, Grosart 2. 127.

Irish beggary. There is more justice in the return of the indictments. "Some are arraigned for ambition in the court, some for corruption in the church, some for cruelties in the camp, some for hollowheartedness in the city, some for eating men alive in the country". And then imagination given free rein, Dekker in good journalistic style plunges into description of the tortures suitable for such crimes, description quite worthy the pen of Daniel Defoe or Jonathan Edwards.

Rich men in hell they are welcom.

Throwe him head-long into our boyling Lake,
Where molten Golde runnes.

His thirst it cannot slake,
Seas could not quench his dropsie: Golde to get
Hee would hang a Citie, starue a Countrey.⁶⁸

The seven years in prison from 1613 to 1620 did not modify Dekker's opinion of the part that hell should play in the distribution of social justice. As he traveled in his *Dream* through the abodes of woe, he found in the regions of "insufferable inexpressible cold", the same classes that had engaged his attention in previous journeys:

Here I beheld Kennels of fat-paunch'd Dogges,
From one to one howling in Dialogues
Of Hellish Language, cursing that they sat
At prowd Voluptuous Tables, yet forgat
Numm'd Charity, when at their gawdy gates
She begg'd but Scraps of their worst Delicates
Yet staru'd for want.

O Diuine Vengeance! how most Iust thou art!

What they Stung others with, is Now their smart.⁶⁹

But, on the other hand, Dekker was no less exact in his distribution of justice to those who had suffered the oppression. For him as for all good Calvinists, it lay in the main with the great Exchequer above. In Heaven, land titles were permanent; no wiles of attorney or scarlet awe of corrupt judges ever could wrest them from the rightful owner; they were more strongly founded than descents lineal by which realms were bounded.⁷⁰ Justice in the world beyond is, however, an underlying principle of Puritanism, and as such will be discussed at some length in subsequent chapters on church, religion, and government.

⁶⁸ *If This be Not a Good Play*, Pearson 3. 357-358.

⁶⁹ *Dekker His Dreame*, Grosart 3. 44.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.* 3. 22, 28.

In the preceding pages I have tried to show that the old social evil of enclosures, great in the two preceding reigns, did not abate under the rule of Elizabeth; and secondly, I have pointed out that they were great enough to challenge the attention of Dekker, by birth and environment rather removed from their immediate influence in the country. Dekker's condemnation of the rich men who brought about enclosures is inevitably bound up with his condemnation of all rich men who oppress the poor, and it would therefore be a mistake to regard the evil of enclosures as unrelated to other evils.¹¹ "The cruelties of these later devouring times" cannot in purport be separated from the more exact statement, "In yonder village, some farmers are now grinding the jawbones of the poor". How closely the evils of the time are linked together is all too evident from such a metaphor as that used by Orlando in describing the danger that threatens his daughter's honor: "My poor Mistris has a waste piece of ground, which is her owne by inheritance, and left to her by her mother; There's a Lord now that goes about, not to take it clean from her, but to enclose it to himself".¹² Middleton, far below Dekker in poetical power, could see the relation between enclosures and the growth of prostitution, but for Dekker the only element connecting the two was identity of the actors, rich and poor in the one case, rich and poor in the other. In this never-failing residuum of class consciousness lurks, I believe, the fundamental note of Dekkerism. This it is which actuates his political satire, his social criticism, and his religious contemplation.^{12/}

¹¹ *The Honest Whore*, Pearson 2. 126.

¹² References to enclosures in Dekker's works (eds. of Pearson and Grosart): *Westward Ho* 2. 45, 299; *The Honest Whore* 2. 45, 79, 126; *The Witch of Edmonton* 4. 401; *The 'Seauen Deadly Sinnes of London* 2. 27, 72; *Newes from Hell* 2. 116, 127; *The Guls Horne-Booke* 2. 236, 245; *The Wonderfull Yeare* 1. 90, 91, 113; *Lanthorne and Candle-light* 3. 208; *The Deade Terme* 4. 35; *Worke for Armourours* 4. 98, 102, 103, 110, 141, 147, 150; *The Ravens Almanac* 4. 187; *The Rearing Girl* 3. 190; *The Foure Birdes of Noah's Arke* 2. 53, 76, 189; *Old Fortunatus* 1. 100, 142; *Wonders of a Kingdom* 4. 235; *If This Be not a Good Play* 3. 274, 317, 324, 357, 358; *Dekker His Dreame* 3. 28.

IV

DEKKER AND THE LAND PROBLEM

PART II

In the foregoing discussion of Dekker and the land problem, I have kept out of view as much as possible the phase of it that touched him most intimately,—the miserable wretches turned out of their holdings and driven off their commons who wandered forth they knew not where; sometimes, when corn was high and enclosures had been more frequent and violent than usual, gathering in riotous mobs to overthrow, burn, and pillage, and if they survived the governmental redress meted out in shootings and hangings, gravitating at last to the cities where they were variously classified as deserving poor, licensed beggars, or rogues and vagabonds. The social tension that resulted from turning loose in the country thousands of persons of the lowest class gave a tremendous interest to everything that could be learned about them, their haunts, their language, their vices and virtues, their organization, their punishments, the precariousness of their lives, their miserable finish in ditch or on the scaffold. The very great attention of the government to this phase of the enclosure problem is paralleled in the writings of Dekker, not only in the casual figure of speech that gives us a glimpse of the dark Elizabethan background, but often in the pamphlet entirely devoted to the subject and written to take advantage of a particular public interest.

As was indicated in the foregoing pages, control of the effects of the enclosures vied with enclosures themselves for place in the governmental statutes. There is this noticeable difference, however, that while both reach their highest peak with the year 1597, a proportionately greater number of statutes are increasingly devoted to the effects of enclosures,—relief of the poor, provision for beggars, and punishment of rogues and vagabonds.

Relief of the poor was one of the first subjects that engaged the attention of Elizabeth's government. In the first year of her reign, Parliament re-enacted 2 and 3 of Philip and Mary, cap. 5. licensing beggars, and arranging for collection and distribution of alms. A significant part of the statute provided that if any parish had more poor than it could support, the justices of the peace might equip such indigent persons with begging licenses for a limited territory, but if such beggar should exceed his limits, he should become known as a valiant beggar and be punished accordingly with imprisonment in the stocks. Further provision for orderly charity was made by the law of 1562, cap. 3. Besides arranging for the appointment of alms collectors, the law provided that any one refusing to give for the relief of the poor might be assessed and taxed by the justice of the peace, and for failure to pay, might be sent to jail until he became tractable. This was a notable advance over the previous laws which had collected alms by moral suasion of the parson and bishop.⁷³

⁷³ 5 and 6 Ed. VI. cap. 2, and 7 Ed. VI. cap. 11.

But in 1572, the whole policy of poor relief was changed. "Whereas all the partes of this Realme of England and Wales be presentlye with Roges, vacabondes and Sturdy Beggars excedinglye pestred, by meanes wherof daylye happeneth in the same Realme horryble Murders, Theftes and other greate Outrages, to the highe displeasure of Almightye God, & to the greate annoye of the Common Weale",⁷⁴ Parliament repealed all legislation that permitted licenses to beg and fixed penalties on both beggars and relievers of beggars. A person taken begging should be sent to jail until the next sessions, and if then convicted should be whipped and burnt through the gristle of the right ear with a hot iron of the compass of an inch about; for a second offense he should suffer as a felon; and for a third, he should be adjudged to suffer death and loss of land and goods without benefit of clergy or sanctuary.

The fifth clause of the statute defined vagabonds as follows: All persons using subtle crafty and unlawful games and plays, and some feigning to have knowledge of physiognomy, palmistry, or other abused sciences; all persons whole and mighty in body and able to labor, not having land or master, or using lawful merchandise, craft or mystery; all fencers, bearwards, common players in interludes and minstrels, not belonging to any baron of this realm or other person of greater degree; all jugglers, peddlers, tinkers and petty chapmen; common laborers who refuse to work for the customary wages; all scholars unauthorized by Oxford or Cambridge to beg; all shipmen pretending losses at sea; and all persons delivered out of prison who beg for their fines.

The next two clauses provide for overseers of the poor, a definite fund for poor relief, and the parish settlement of all paupers. Any poor found outside his native parish shall be passed from constable to constable until he comes to where he belongs; for refusal to be so bestowed, he shall suffer as a rogue and vagabond the penalties set forth in the first clause. If any aged or impotent person able to work refuses, he shall, for his first offense, be whipt and stocked; for his second, suffer as a rogue and vagabond. The justices of the peace shall moreover provide work for all able to labor.

The law of 1576 added houses of correction, material for work, and governors of the poor. This statute and the foregoing remained the basis for poor relief and punishment of rogues and vagabonds until 1597, when on account of the famine and the high price of corn Parliament had to spend almost its entire session in overhauling the whole subject. Out of a large committee devoted for weeks to the task of sifting the merits of twelve different bills, the statute known as 39 of Elizabeth, cap. 3 emerged. Overseers of the poor were to have power to levy a compulsory poor rate, applicable to four purposes, employment of children of paupers, employment of all others able to work, provision of working materials for the poor, and necessary relief of the lame, blind, old, impotent, and others unable to work. Provision was made for erection of hospitals and work houses, and rich parishes might be rated to help others not so fortunate. Beggars not begging in their own parishes for food,

⁷⁴ *Statutes of the Realm*, vol. 4, pt. 1, p. 590; 14 Eliz. cap. 5.

and soldiers and sailors not regularly licensed, were declared rogues and vagabonds, liable to punishment as such. Another statute of the same year⁷⁵ provided the punishment. Vagabonds were now to be whipped and returned to the jail or house of correction in their own parish. Dangerous rogues were to be banished, and on return were to suffer death.

The laws of 1597 with their attention to every angle of the subject,—relief of poor, punishment of sturdy rogues, erection of hospitals and work houses, punishment for thieves, lewd and wandering persons calling themselves soldiers and sailors,—still proved to be inadequate. Accordingly in 1601 Parliament modified the laws in some respects to give them the form they kept in England until 1835.

The Parliaments of James found themselves considering the same old questions. "Whereas heretofore divers good and necessarie Lawes and Statutes have beene made and provided for the ereccion of Houses of Correccion, for the suppressing and punishing of Rogues, Vacabondes and other idle vagrant and disorderly persons, which Lawes have not wrought soe good effect as was expected, aswell for that the said Houses of Correccion have not beene buylte according as was intended, as alsoe for that the said Statutes have not beene duly and severely putt in execucion",⁷⁶ thus the statute opens, and it proceeds to provide a house of correction in every county, the justices to be fined if they are not built by a certain time, the justices to meet twice a year or oftener in their respective districts, a search having been made previous to the meeting, for the discovery and apprehension of all rogues and idle persons for incarceration in the houses of correction. This statute also provides that men who leave their families on the parish shall suffer as incorrigible rogues. Punishment was to be no light matter, for 1 of James I, cap. 7 provides that the offender shall be branded on the left shoulder with a great Roman R, the mark to be a perpetual sign upon such person through the whole of his or her life, and for a second offense to suffer as a felon with no benefit of clergy.

How closely Dekker followed the humorous tides of his age, as in the dedication to *The Strange Horse Race* he tells us that he loved to do, is more than evident from the way in which the statutory life described above appears in his pages. For some reason he came to know more of miserable beggars, rogues, and vagabonds than any other man of his day, and in describing them produced some of his best writings. In common with half a dozen other men of letters, he gives descriptions of their lairs in barns and hovels, detailed technique of each peculiar roguery, and dictionaries of their canting slang. The intimacy with which he knew the underworld was not a thing to be garnered out of Harmon's *Caveat* or Audeley's *Fraternitie*, though it must be confessed that he was not averse, when public demand ran high, to taking whole pages wherever he could find them. Beggar life was common in London. Any Elizabethan could see it; no Elizabethan could escape it. This man, however, saw it with

⁷⁵ 39 Elizabeth, cap. 4.

⁷⁶ *Statutes of the Realm* vol. 4, pt. 2, p. 1159; 7 and 8 James I, cap. 4.

a difference. The beggars in their tattered coats, the hungry paupers dragged to the whipping post, the sturdy rogues led to their hangings, entered into him and became a part of him. Sensitive by nature, and the more sensitive to poverty because daily he stood in danger of being swallowed up by it, his imagination made him one with the outcasts and scum of the earth, and he came through their eyes to invest poverty and misery with a certain universality. Shortly after Shakespeare had concluded that all the world was a stage, Dekker was saying that all the world's a prison:

"Doe we not all come into the world like arrant *Beggars*, without a rag vpon us? doe we not all goe out of the world like *Beggars*, sauing onely an old sheete to couer vs? and shall we not walke vp & downe in the world like *Beggars*, with old blankets pind about vs?"⁷⁷

The serpent in Eden was Man's Master-thief who robbed him of all;⁷⁸ the Manger-Cradled Babe was beggar born.⁷⁹ "Who complains of want? of woundes? of cares? of great mens oppressions? of captiuitie? whilst he sleepeth? *Beggars* in their beds take as much pleasure as *Kings*".⁸⁰ And the prisoner prays:

"My feete (O my Sauour) are in the snares of the hunter, and like a beast in the Wildernessee haue my enemies pursued mee: I am now entangled in the chaines of captiuitie; yet (O my God) bestow thou vpon mee the freedome of my soule: Soften thou the flintie hearts of those men, that haue cast me into this house of mourning and heauinesse: and as thou didst to *Daniel* in the Lions denne, defend and keepe mee from the iawes of miserie, that are stretched wide open to swallow me vp aliue. It is for my sinne that I am thus round beset with pouerty, shame, and dishonour. . . . Put into my bosome Good and Charitable thoughts, that I may pray for them that persecute and trouble mee; and that I may vndergoe and passe ouer all their oppressions and bearings of mee downe, with a settled, constant, and suffering spirit. Let this imprisonment (O LORD) bee alwaies vnto mee a Booke wherein I may reade, first, the knowledge of thee (which hitherto I haue not studied) and secondly, the knowledge of my selfe. . . . And albeit thou hast in thy iudgement and to expresse thy glorie, appointed mee to bee an outcast amongst men, and to be the scum of the world, yet, O Lord, cast mee not out of thy presence, but for thy deare Sons sake, whose blood bought the begger as well as the Prince, make me a free-denizen in the citie of Heauen, So be it."⁸¹

The punishments to be meted out according to governmental statutes appear in Dekker's pages with the concrete vividness of an eye witness,—the thief that dies at Tyburne for a robbery,⁸² the "Beadels of Hell that whip soules in Lucifer's Bridewell",⁸³ the ragged soldiers whose doom was the halter and

⁷⁷ *The Belman of London*, Grosart 3. 89.

⁷⁸ *Dekker His Dreame*, Grosart 3. 55.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.* 24.

⁸⁰ *The Guls Horne-Booke*, Grosart 2. 217.

⁸¹ *The Foure Birdes of Noah's Arke*, Grosart 5. 35-36.

⁸² *The Seauen Deadly Sinnes of London*, Grosart 2. 27

⁸³ *Newes from Hell*, Grosart 2. 27.

whipping post,⁸⁴ the prisoner that stood upon his coming forth and was put back until he had paid his fees to the keepers,⁸⁵ malefactors tortured on the German wheel,⁸⁶ Poverty banished to the suburbs to die—sunken eyed wretches, under the walls of the city,⁸⁷—miserable men who have stolen into a debt of ten pounds and are led straightway to execution.⁸⁸

Some of Dekker's rogue pamphlets published between 1607 and 1609 were undoubtedly written to take advantage of the heightened interest in the subject that grew out of the agrarian riots in the middle counties in 1607. Stowe describes them as follows:

"About the middle of this month of May, 1607, a great number of common persons, sodainly assembled themselves in Northamptonshire, and then others of like nature assembled themselves in Warwickshire, and some in Leicestershire, they violently cut and broke downe hedges, filled up ditches, and laid open all such enclosures of commons, and other grounds as they found enclosed, which of auncient time had beene open, and imployed to tillage, these tumultuous persons in Northampton, Warwicke, and Leicestershire grew very strong, being in some places of men, women, and children, a thousand together, and at Hill Posten in Warwickshire there were three thousand, and at Cottesbich there assembled of men, women, and children to the number of full five thousand; these riotous persons bent all their strength to leavell and lay open inclosures, without exercising any manner of theft, or violence upon any man's person, goods, or cattell, and wheresoever they came, they were generally relieved by the neere inhabitants, who sent them not only many carts laden with victuall but also good store of Spades, and Shovells, for speedy performance of their present enterprise, who untill then, some of them were faine to use Bills, Pykes, and such like tools in stead of Mattocks and Spades.

"The twenty seaventh of this month, there were severall Proclamations made, straightly charging them to surcease their disorder, yet neverthesse they ceased not, but rather persisted more eagerly and thereupon the Sheriffs and Justices, had authority given them to suppress them by force, by vertue whereof they raised an Army and scattered them, using all possible means to avoide bloudshed."⁸⁹

With this introduction Stow proceeds to tell how they were led by one John Reynolds, called Captain Pouch from a large wallet he carried. † A Cromwellian figure he seems to have been, deriving his authority he said from the Lord of Heaven, and suffering no swearing or violence in his army, urging them rather to ply their business and make fair work. At the finish, however, he among others suffered death by hanging. Some were indicted for treason, some for felony, and some for riot and unlawful assembly. †

⁸⁴ *Dekker His Dreame*, Grosart 3. 45.

⁸⁵ *Iests to Make You Merrie*, Grosart 2. 290.

⁸⁶ *The Dead Terme*, Grosart 4. 11.

⁸⁷ *Worke for Armourours*, Grosart 4. 140.

⁸⁸ *Old Fortunatus*, Pearson 1. 100.

⁸⁹ Stow, *Annales* 890-891. Cf. the three proclamations of James I which appear in the Appendix.

The stir that these riots made in London may be judged from letters exchanged between the Earl of Shrewsbury in the council and the Earl of Kent in Bedfordshire. If any loose or bad people arise in Bedfordshire, Shrewsbury advises a sound and sharp course to be taken with them at the beginning, "neyther to vse any perswation at all till you have 40 or 50 horses well apoynted, which will run over and cutt in peeces a thousand of such naked rogues as thos are".⁹⁰ And Kent replying tells that even before receiving the letter he had sent, and was now sending afresh, letters and warrants to high and petie constables, and to all captains of horse and foot to be ready upon an hour's notice, as well as directions to towns where the country's arms were kept, and to all the armourers to provide all in readiness.⁹¹

The Belman of London, published in 1608, bristles with this imminence of armed conflict. The dedication, "To all those that either by office are sworne to punish, or in their owne loue to vertue, wish to haue the disorders of a State amended", urges the necessity of men "armed with iustice, and well furnished in all points with a desire to conquer these Sauages".⁹² And then the Belman, instead of describing the disorders of London, proceeds into the country, sorry to hear that in those places where Innocence and Simplicity should be borne, so much and such ugly villanies should be nourished, and yet glad, too, because only in the airing of such wounds is there any curing of them. In the center of a beautiful grove, he comes upon a homely cottage, where, hidden in the loft by an old beldame, he can hear and see the Ragged Regiment that gather to feast, Villians by birth, Varlets by education, Knaves by profession, Beggars by Statute, and Rogues by Act of Parliament. He hears them devising curses upon Justices of the Peace, Headboroughes, and Constables, "grinding their teeth so hard together for anger, that the grating of a saw in a stone-cutters yard, when it fyles in sunder the ribs of Marble makes not a more horrible noyse". Finally, before turning to investigate the sins of London, he concludes in effect: Considering the greatness of the army, the devilish commanders, what forces they bring to the field, how full of cunning, how politick are the Ring leaders, how resolute are the troops, what strange armour have they to encounter and set upon their opposites, what artillery to batter downe *Order, Law, Custom*, plain dealing, and all the goode guardes and defences of government, "What remaineth therefore, (in an assault so dangerous to a Common wealth, and so hotly and daily prosecuted,) but that Iustice her selfe must come into the field, leading with her all her forces".⁹³

Lanthorne and Candle-light, published in the next year and dedicated "To my owne Nation", keeps the figure of the armed conflict, and speaks at the very beginning of "new forces . . . to bee leauied against certaine Wilde and Barbarous Rebels, that were vp in open arms against the Tranquilitie of the Weale publique".⁹⁴ In view of the post that Shrewsbury and Kent kept ready

⁹⁰ E. F. Gay, *The Midland Revolt*, *Trans. Roy. Hist. Soc.*, 2 ser. vol. 18, p. 241.

⁹¹ *Ibid.* 242.

⁹² *The Belman of London*, Grosart 3. 65.

⁹³ Grosart 3. 168.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.* 181.

for instant service, how aptly Dekker writes of the light horsemen that come in at every hour with news of where the mutineers lie intrenched, who are their leaders, how they go armed, and the number of their horse and foot!⁹⁵

The title of the tract *Worke for Armourours* may possibly have been suggested by the letter which the Earl of Kent wrote to his brother, the Earl of Shrewsbury, a member of the privy council, under date of June 6, 1607, for in this letter he speaks of having given "speciall direccons to those Townes where the Countreyes Armes are kept and to all the Armourers to provide for the readiness and safetie of the Armes".⁹⁶ Indeed, the agrarian riots in the middle counties aside, I cannot discover any occasion which might have furnished work for armourers between 1607 and 1609. The proclamation of Money, banishing all that were like to be of Poverty's company for fear they should revolt in time of need,⁹⁷ seems to be a blend of the royal proclamation of September 3, 1603—"dangerous rogues to be banished so appointed by the Lords of the Councell, and confirmed by the King",⁹⁸ and the sharp orders of the council to various counties in 1607 to take a firm stand against inclosure riots.⁹⁹ The resolve of the army of Poverty that "they would dy like men though they were but poor knaues"¹⁰⁰ tallies with the resolution of the "poore Delvers and Daylabourers for ye good of ye Comonwealth till death",¹⁰¹ which Professor Gay assigns to the same period. It is better to die manfully, this resolution declares, than "to be pined to death for want of it which those devouring encroachers do serve theyr fatt hogges and sheep withall".¹⁰² The second proclamation of Money when she had entered into the city of which Hardheartedness had been given the keys to keep, is reminiscent of the royal proclamation of April, 1603, touching prices of victuals,¹⁰³ and in its beginning "To all and Singular our Shires, Counties", might ape many a proclamation in that Reign of Proclamations. There is, furthermore, considerable similarity between the army of Captain Pouch which did no violence and the army of Poverty where discontent smoldered like fire in wet straw: They did nothing because they knew not what to do. The finish of the *Worke for Armourours* in which, despite the great stir, nothing much happened, may be a reflection on the uselessness of the work of the commission which James appointed to investigate, for the report was ruled out because of some technicality and enclosures went on as before.

The social conflict that characterizes these rogue pamphlets of 1608-9 is in very great part, I believe, a reflection of the agrarian troubles that mounted to armed conflict in the summer of 1607, and Dekker used its machinery, not only because it gave greater dramatic interest to the pamphlets, and hence better sale, but also because he himself emotionally and intellectually saw life in terms of social conflict.

⁹⁵ Gay 238-244.

⁹⁶ Gay 242.

⁹⁷ Grosart 4. 140.

⁹⁸ Stow 828.

⁹⁹ Gay 216.

¹⁰⁰ Grosart 4. 110.

¹⁰¹ Gay 214, note.

¹⁰² *Ibid.* 214, note.

¹⁰³ *C. of S. P. 1603-1610*, 66.

V

DEKKER AND RELIGION

Dekker's attitude toward church and religion is quite consistent with his attitude toward the land problem. Just as he extolled the protection offered to the lower classes by the nobility, so he praised the whole polity of the church of England, and just as he zealously attacked the forces that were changing the equilibrium in governmental affairs, so he assailed whatever forces might be interfering with the supremacy of the Anglican church.

It was therefore with considerable gusto that he gave himself to expressions of hate against Catholics when the Gun-Powder Plot had made that particular hatred exceedingly popular. *The Double PP*, published in 1606, is no less pronounced in antipathy to Papists than in devotion to Anglican church and government. Opposed to the Papist bearing ten shields, each symbolical of a class of supporting Catholics, stood the Protestant likewise armed with his band of supporting loyalists. The Jesuit who marshalled the way for the Catholic contingent was the quintessence of horrors and terrors, and manifested his wickedness even in his physical appearance:

A *Harpye* face; a *Foxes* head:
(In *Lamb-Skins* closely couered)
A *Mandrakes* voice, whose tunes are cries,
So peircing that the *Hearer* dies.

Mouth'd like an *Ape*, his innate spite
Being to mock *Those* hee cannot bite:
Neckt like a *Crane*, hee chawes a *Crowne*,
But choakes before hee gets it downe.¹⁰⁴

Then this Jesuit is depicted as undergoing strange transformations. Sometimes the garments that he wears are the turned skins of wolves and bears, sometimes the feathers of the dove, sometimes those of the peacock. He creeps into rooks' and martins' nests, he climbs up to the eaves of the bishop's palace, he turns into a butterfly, and beats his wings against the anointed head of the ruler.

Sometimes hee's neither beast, nor man,
Nor Bird, nor a Leuiathan,
But an *Essentiall* diuell. . . . ¹⁰⁵

He is, in brief, the emblem of hypocrisy, the enemy and scourge of all the nations.

¹⁰⁴ *The Double PP*, Grosart 2. 162.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.* 164.

The first type of Papist is the "fawning couchant" Papist; the second, the "secret passant one who goes to church often enough to stay out of the clutches of the law"; the third, the "Passant gardent" Papist who spends his time scenting out secrets of state to carry to Rheims or Rome; the fourth, the "Papist Varient", appearing as Puritan, Protestant, and Catholic in turn:

When *Mary* rules, he blows the *martirs* fire,
And when her Sister, gainst the *Masse* hee railes.
But when your *Royall selfe* was to aspire
To that which was your owne, hee flagd his Soule,
Watching what wind turnd next, to which he vailes,
His Surly top. But playing many parts,
Hee cannot but haue many dangerous hearts.¹⁰⁶

The fifth is the "Papist Volant", who flees the realm on account of conscience, whose essence is gross treason; the sixth, the "Papist Seminant", closely related to the Jesuit and successful in sowing rank disloyalty by cavilling over questions of allegiance; the seventh, the "Papist Salliant", representative of a spiteful class gone over to Rome because dissatisfied with governmental policy; the eighth, the "Papist Rampant", who runs

To dambd Conspiracies, In which are spun
Kings, Queenes, & Princes deaths; & (as with Thunder)
Whole *Empires* at one blow they riue in sunder.

The ninth is the "Papist Umbreant", who in dark cellars and vaults carries out the infamous schemes conjured up by his master, the "Furious Beast". Last of the retinue is the Hanger-on, too harmless to be included in any of the foregoing classes and too numerous to be disregarded.

Delineation of these uncomplimentary portraits did not exhaust the subject for Dekker. In 1612 he carried Papists into the infernal regions by making Guy Faux a character in *If This be not a Good Play, the Devil is in it*. The last scene pictures Ravellae and Faux enduring hellish torment that in poetic retribution for crimes committed is Dantesque. Above the horror of pandemonium, its cries of pain and the ravings of the damned for merciful drink, rise the frantic yells of Faux: "Towers, towers, towers, pinnacles and towers, . . . When the barrel tops are fired, I shall be grinded into dust." . . . "It falls, I am mad". And the demons echo, "I am mad, I am mad, Ha, ha, ha, ho, ho".¹⁰⁷

‡ But as much as he hated the Papists who made war on the church from without, he feared equally the heresy, schism, and faction that weakened it from within. †"Driue all foxes, and rauening wolues out of this thy Temple", he prayed, "and admit none but Lambes (clothed in puritie & innocencie of life) with thy chosen flocke to feede there. . . . O Lord, weed this great and universal garden of thine from al thornes and briers, that seeke to choake the good

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.* 174.

¹⁰⁷ *If This Be not a Good Play*, Pearson 3. 349.

seed; plant in it none but grafts of thine owne nurcerie, so shalt thou bee sure they will bring foorth fruite, faire for shew, sweet for taste, wholesome for vse, and such as shall bud out in due season".¹⁰⁸ In the horrors of the last day amidst treason, slavery, and civil strife, Religion with Error and Schism at her side, will increase the confusion by opinion, faction, and heresy.¹⁰⁹ And if you penetrate to the infernal regions themselves, there in the midst you will see Satan issuing orders to "Those churchmen that bind themselues together in schismes";¹¹⁰ and if you linger a while, you may see them hauled willy-nilly to the fearful judgment.¹¹¹

[Dekker's antipathy to Puritans as the chief of heretics shines forth in almost every play and pamphlet. Sometimes it is evident in the figure of speech that takes a fling at Puritan aversion to plays, Maypoles, dancing, or swearing; sometimes in satire of their nasal twang and soberness of dress or manner. More often, however, in sterner spirit he takes them to task for dishonesty and hypocrisy. Nothing that he wrote of them is more scathing than the genealogy worked out in *The Diuels Last Will and Testament*. Hypocrisy, child of Satan, was put forth to be nursed by an Anabaptist of Amsterdam, while Ingratitude, his twin brother, was brought up at home. The first when grown ready for a master was bound to a Puritan tailor and learned to make cloaks of religion of a thousand colors. At one time he lived with a vizard-maker and learned to wear two faces under one hood. Afterward, "hee trauelled into *Italy*, and there learned to embrace with one arme, and stabbe with another; to smile in your face, yet to wish a ponyard in your bosome: to protest, and yet lye: to sweare loue, yet hate mortally".¹¹² From Italy he returned to the Low Countries, and thence came to England. "Hee hath a winning and bewitching presence, a sweete breath, a musicall voyce, and a warme soft hand. But it is dangerous to keepe company with him, because he can alter himselfe into sundry shapes. In the Citty hee is a Dogge, and will fawne vpon you: In the fields hee is a Lyons Whelp, and will play with you: In the Sea, hee is a Mer-mayd, and will sing to you. But that fawning is but to reach at your throat: that playing is to get you into his pawes, and that singing is nothing else but to sink and confound you for euer".¹¹³

The Puritan is pictured as the embodiment of destruction. Content not even with the chaos of Bedlam, he was never happy until he pulled down the steeple, and hanged himself in the bell-rope.¹¹⁴ In the realm of Pluto, he exclaimed, when apologizing for his distorted body,

Alacke!

How can I choose but halt, goe lame and crooked!
When I pulled a whole church downe vpon my backe.

¹⁰⁸ *Foure Birdes of Noah's Arke*, Grosart 5. 47.

¹⁰⁹ *Dekker His Dreame*, Grosart 3. 15.

¹¹⁰ *Newes from Hell*, Grosart 2. 134.

¹¹¹ *Lanthorne and Candlelight*, Grosart 3. 208.

¹¹² *The Diuels Last Will and Testament*, Grosart 3. 358.

¹¹³ *Ibid.* 3. 359.

¹¹⁴ *The Honest Whore*, Pearson 2. 79.

And Minos, sensitive to the dangers threatening the infernal regions, shouted out,
Hence with him, he will pull all hell downe, too.¹¹⁵

But because Dekker laughed at Puritans for their grotesque oddities and satirized them roundly for their efforts at democratization of church government, we are not to assume that Dekker was blind to the fact that the practise of the English Church fell far short of its theory. Dekker fully accorded with the demand of the reform party for an industrious clergy. "A *Pastor*, that hauing a Flocke to feede, suffers them to breake into strange fields, lets them stray he cares not how; be dragged away by the Wolfe, he regards not whither: seeth them sicke and diseased, and will not cure them: hee is a *Catch-poll*".¹¹⁶ Such a pastor is a fat retainer for sloth when he rides abroad in his litter, and as such to be classed with anglers, players, wenches, gamsters, panders, and fiddlers.¹¹⁷ Under another figure, Dekker asks, "If the pilot sleep, what shall prevent the whole venture from being lost on the dangerous rocks"? And in the *Foure Birdes of Noah's Arke*, he prays, "Suffer not, O Lord, the vnprofitable weede (of sloth) to grow vp amongst the Ministers of thy word: let no standing waters be in thy Church, but giue swiftnesse to them that they may all bee running streames, so shall thy pastures bee watered and bring foorth increase: so shall thy flockes be well tended, when the shepheards bee watchful".¹¹⁸

But as hurtful to the church at the slothful pastors, the dumb ministers, were those who neglected the flock by possession of pluralities. One ran so "horrible fast after foure Benefices all at one time" that "hee caught such an incurable cold (by reason of his pursinesse,) that hee lost his voyce," so that he never spoke after to any great purpose.¹¹⁹ This preacher was of the group reported in *Newes from Hell*, who had grown so fat and pursy from bearing three or four livings that they could scarcely speak when hauled to the judgment bar.

The explanation for the discrepancy between theory and practice in the church and in the government, Dekker, as most men of the time, found in the dictrine of Calvinism. The curse of Adam, it was, that made landlords rack-rent poor tenants, turn out to roguery and vagabondage the classes they were bound in honor to protect; this it was that made men live basely, content to "feede upon the bread that the sweat of other mens browes" did earn; this it was that made them abase their consciences in monopolies, briberies, simonies, brokerage fees, and usury, barter away their souls for the sake of filthy money; this, on the other hand, it was that made poor men often lazy, dishonest, and shiftless; in brief, this it was that accounted for all the failure of the theory of divine harmony in universe, state, and church, to organize and make intelligible the life that the Elizabethans lived.

¹¹⁵ *If This Be not a Good Play*, Pearson 3. 359.

¹¹⁶ *The Catch-Pols Masque*, Grosart 3. 367.

¹¹⁷ *The Seauen Deadly Sinnes of London*, Grosart 2. 56.

¹¹⁸ *The Foure Birdes of Noah's Arke*, Grosart 5. 75.

¹¹⁹ *A Strange Horse-Race*, Grosart 3. 342.

[But though the earth was given over to depraved man,—God's greatest enemy—,¹²⁰ the justice, righteousness, and wisdom of the Most High could not be questioned. Just beyond corruption, merciful beyond our deserving, and mighty above our comprehension,¹²¹ it was a part of His glory to make us, and a greater part of His glory to save us from the consequences of our sinful natures.¹²² By affliction, personal and social, he tries to divert us to paths of righteousness, but we, led away by desires of the flesh (money-getting, chiefly) disregard all warning notes and rush heedlessly on to destruction. It is for our sin that we are beset with poverty, shame, and dishonor; it is for our sin that famine, war, and pestilence fall upon the people. This intimate relationship between personal sin and national calamity had a first place in all of Dekker's muck-raking pamphlets, and probably had a considerable part in making him one of the popular writers of his day. Such a blending of religion and patriotism was highly acceptable to a nation headed straight toward theocratic ideals.]

The best evidence for the Calvinistic beliefs of Dekker is to be found in the prayers that make up *The Foure Birdes of Noah's Arke*. Acknowledgment of the absolute sovereignty of God, the depravity of man, the necessity of prayer and repentance, the vanity of this world and the desirability of the one to come, find a place on every page. "So mortify my affections", Dekker prays, "that every day, casting behinde my backe the comfort, the care, the vanities, the vileness, the pleasures, and the sorrows of this bewitching world, I may continually haue this cry aloud in my mouth,—'I desire to be dissolved and to be with thee'."¹²³

When Dekker thought of religion in connection with the state, he was a staunch Anglican; when he considered abuse in the church, he was a Puritan; when he considered the relations between man, God, and the universe, he was a Calvinist, and as a Calvinist emphasized the omnipotence of God, the depravity of man, the need for repentance, the marvels of God's grace, the danger of the world, the flesh, and the devil, as stoutly as the most extreme Puritan.

¹²⁰ *If This Be not a Good Play*, Pearson 3. 319.

¹²¹ *The Foure Birdes of Noah's Arke*, Grosart 5. 27.

¹²² *Ibid.* 26.

¹²³ *Ibid.* 22.

VI

DEKKER AND THE GOVERNMENT

The Dekker of the preceding chapter, torn between traditional devotion to the land classes and pity and sorrow for the misery that their land enclosures brought upon the helpless peasants, meets us again as we analyze his attitude toward the government as a whole. Political theory inherited from medieval philosophers failed to square with Elizabethan practice, and Dekker, savage and sad by turns, gropingly reached out to the new ideals of the future. Critics who emphasize his modern tendencies toward democracy by ignoring his adherence to the hierarchical political system, achieve consistency at too great a price, for Dekker bound to support the government as it was, is no less real than Dekker looking forward vaguely to democratic equality. A consideration of the political theory he espoused and his dissatisfaction with its actual working sheds light not only upon Dekker, but upon the whole middle class movement, dominated more or less vaguely by democratic ideals.

Students who emphatically urge the democracy of Dekker do so by casting aside as sorry bread-winning pamphlets the very prose that shows him to be as thorough-going a conservative as Spenser, Shakespeare, Bacon, or Jonson. In an age when the government felt its power slipping, when already the impending revolutions were casting their shadows over the land, the greatest evil the conservative could imagine was change; the greatest good a maintenance of the *status quo*! Shakespeare phrased the theory quite completely in these words:

Degree being vizarded,
The unworthiest shows as fairly in the mask.
The heavens themselves, the planets and the centre,
Observe degree, priority and place,
Insisture, course, proportion, season, form,
Office and custom in all line of order:
And therefore is the glorious planet Sol
In noble eminence enthroned and sphered
Amidst the other; whose medicinable eye
Corrects the ill aspects of planets evil,
And posts like the commandment of a king,
Sans check to good and bad: but when the planets
In evil mixture to disorder wander,
What plagues and what portents, what mutiny,
What raging of the sea, shaking of earth,
Commotion in the winds, frights, changes, horrors,
Divert and crack, rend and deracinate
The unity and married calm of states
Quite from their fixture! O, when degree is shaken,
Which is the ladder to all high designs,

The enterprise is sick! How could communities,
 Degrees in schools and brotherhoods in cities,
 Peaceful commerce from dividable shores,
 The primogenitive and due of birth,
 Prerogative of age, crowns, scepters, laurels,
 But by degree, stand in authentic place?
 Take but degree away, untune that string,
 And, hark, what discord follows!¹²⁴

{The social system according to this theory is a harmonious whole linked inevitably with the larger harmony of the crystal spheres, and any slightest change in the order of the smallest part, plunges the world into universal chaos. Justice is an expression of the perfect balance, and depends absolutely on the maintenance of the primeval concord in relation of part to part, and part to whole; once transgression of the pre-established harmony comes to pass in form of fault, crime, or inordinate passion, the injustice is manifest immediately in menacing heavens and tempests dropping fire!

This too is the philosophy of Bacon. "For the motions of the greatest persons in a government ought to be in the notions of the planets under *primum mobile*, according to the old opinion, which is that every one of them is carried swiftly by the highest motion, and softly in their own motion. And therefore when great ones in their own particular motion move violently, . . . it is a sign the orbs are out of frame".¹²⁵ John Heywood, in *The Spider and the Fly*, phrased the same philosophy in these words:

The God hath placed us all to live out of strife,
 Spiders, flies, and ants, each sort in their degree.
 Spiders, in head parts of windows, the heads be;
 Flies in the midst; the body as it were;
 Ants at the low part, the feet accounted there.

.
 And when all three sorts keep quietly their place,
 All live together in quiet wealthy case.¹²⁶

This theory of a divinely instituted harmony set forth by the foregoing is exactly what I find in a good part of Dekker's work. It differs from the above only in being less philosophical, and more given to detailed description of just the part each estate is to play in the governmental harmony.

The conception of a universe moving in pre-established concord, and that of a state government moving in subordinate tuneful unity, can readily enough be seen in the dedication of *The Double PP* to all the nobility, clergy, and gentry of Great Britain, that

like the sollid wheelles of *Fate*,
 Giue sweete or troubled *Motion* to a *State*.¹²⁷

¹²⁴ *Troilus and Cressida* 1. 3. 83-110.

¹²⁵ *Essays: Seditions and Troubles*.

¹²⁶ Farmer's Edition 346.

¹²⁷ *The Double PP*, Grosart 2. 159.

The sin of the Papist is his attempt to disturb the divinely revealed order in an effort to climb above archbishops, bishops, councillors, dukes, earls, and the like, trample on the necks of king and queen, and eventually bring about an utter chaos in religion, state, and truth; while the virtue of the Protestant is his submission to the established harmony and his willingness to fight for its perpetuity.

In setting forth the intimacy of relationship between the different parts of the governmental system, Dekker, like St. Paul and Aristotle, and more especially the medieval philosophers, Nicholas Cusanus and John of Salisbury, is fond of metaphors that liken it to a living organism. The nobleman is a graft so wrought into the royal stem that alike they suffer together; he is the soul of the kingdom's life, and if they are separated a star drops out of heaven. The councillor is the ear and voice of the state, no man sleeps, speaks, or eats, but by the judge and the law; the scholar is honor's beauty and the state's honor; the soldier is the strength of the nation; the artificer, the nervous strings that fortify the heart; the king, indeed, may be all of these, like Agamemnon,

nerve and bone of Greece,
Heart of our numbers, soul, and only spirit,
In whom the temper, and the minds of all
Should be shut up,

or, in the words of both Bacon and Dekker, may be in fact a very god.

But when we put together all the passages that relate to the function of each succeeding class in the governmental system, the attitude of Dekker becomes still more apparent. If we wish to see the theory in its wildest extravagance, we should turn to the *Kings Entertainment*, arranged to capture the approval and admiration of James when he made his triumphant passage through the city in March, 1603. Through various pageants and devices that figure forth the power of majesty, we come to the end of Soperlane where one of the choristers of Paul's explains that after Elizabeth died, Destruction and Oblivion prevailed until the sacred Phoenix James brought all happiness to the land. The finest statement of the woes that follow upon loss of majesty and the blessings that ensue upon its restoration, is in the speech made at the Arch over the Conduit in Fleet Street. At the funeral pile of Elizabeth's dead majesty, he tells us, the populous globe of the English Isle seemed to move backward. All states from nobles down to meaner fates moved opposite to nature and to peace, as if they had been the Antipodes, but at the virtue of a regal eye again, the globe resumed its wonted line, and the elements moved in peaceful motion. Envy turned her own poisonous snakes against her own maw, and Justice, Fortitude, Temperance, and Prudence came to dwell in sovereignty.¹²⁸

One might, on Dekker's authority, ascribe this to Middleton if its spirit and language did not agree with Dekker's own sentiments in many another passage. In the same year of 1603, the plague pamphlet called *The Wonderful Yeare* appeared. To the nation, he says, that in her reign never understood

¹²⁸ *Kings Entertainment*, Pearson 1. 319-320.

what that strange outlandish word *Change* might signify, the news of her death brought fear and astonishment: "O what an Earthquake is the alteration of a State! Looke from the Chamber of Presence, to the Farmers cottage, and you shall finde nothing but distraction: the whole Kingdome seemes a wildernes, and the people in it are transformed to wild men".¹²⁹ But as soon as James, the "*omne bonum* from the holesome North", ascended the English throne and swept his regal eye over the troubled rout, confusion fled away, and men resumed their trades and occupations in peace.

The sovereign indeed is a colossus who supports the whole land,¹³⁰ the first and capital column whose point reaches to the stars,¹³¹ the sun that dispenses heat, light, and life;¹³² he rules by divine right in majesty equal to Jove,¹³³ and must needs be deified.¹³⁴

The councillor in the realm is the king's auxiliary. Lest the nation be shaken by tempests, lest the ship of state run upon rocks of inevitable danger, the prayer for the council entreats:

"Appoint Prouidence, to dwell vpon their browes, that they may fore see thine and our enemies: bid watchfulness to sit on their eye-lids, to meete the stroake when it is coming, and courage to buckle armour to their brests, that they may valiantly beare it off without shrinking: let zeale & integritie go on either side of them, to make them walk vpriight, whilst concord holdes them hand in hand to preserue them from factions. . . . As they are one body in Counsell, so let all their counsels bee to the safety of one head".¹³⁵

The noble, as pointed out in the previous chapter, is so much one with the king that injured they suffer together, and in the relation of protector to the classes below him, so much a connecting link between the highest and the lowest that he may well be called the life of the nation, indeed, its very soul.

The church is the school where the divine order is revealed, the meeting place, as it were, of the universal and the temporal, and for that reason the various orders of the clergy take on a grave importance. If the council is the compass, the church is the blue-printed chart, and the clergy the pilots that marshal soul, state, and universe safely on its destined way. They are "Stewards over the Kings house of heaven, and lye heere as Embassadors about the greatest State matters in the world". The bishop carries Christ's standard, Peter's sword, and Peter's word, and tunes his voice so sweetly in the councils of heaven that he is sent to be speaker in God's Parliament. He is the gardener of the land, and goes about plucking out the weeds of heresy and schism. The lower clergy intimately and more concretely carry out the program of their superiors by rooting out discord wherever they find it. They specifically point out the iniquity of rebellion, and the blessedness of submission.¹³⁶

¹²⁹ *The Wonderfull Yeaere*, Grosart 1. 87-88.

¹³⁰ *If This Be not a Good Play*, Pearson 3. 354.

¹³¹ *The Dead Terme*, Grosart 4. 23.

¹³² *The Suns Darling*, Pearson 4. 335.

¹³³ *The Dead Terme*, Grosart 4. 23.

¹³⁴ *The Suns Darling*, Pearson 4. 336.

¹³⁵ *The Foure Birdes of Noah's Arke*, Grosart 5. 45.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.* 47-48.

The place of law, judges, and lawyers in the temporal heirarchy depends, of course, on the Dekker conception of justice and that, as we have seen, is the belief that it is a maintenance of the perfect equilibrium in society. The social balance having been revealed, the object of law is to maintain it. Therefore, the honest Dekker can write, "The law is vnto us, as the heauens are ouer our heads. . . But if they bee troubled by brablings and vnruely mindes, and be put from their owne smooth and euen byas, then doe they plague the world with stormes: Then doth Thunder shake the Rich mans building, lightning burnes up the poore mans Corne, Haile-stones beat downe the fruites of the earth, and all Creatures that are within reach of their fury, tremble and hide their heads at the horreur"¹³⁷ The temporal law, however, is once removed from divine initiative inasmuch as it is the product of human reason doing its part to perpetuate the symphony. Judges, nevertheless, are deputies of God, and if by chance they should be overthrown,

No man durst be *good*,
Nor could be safe being *bad*: Confusion
Would be held *order*: and (as in the *Flood*
The world was couerd) so would all in blood
If *Iustices* eies were closde.¹³⁸

Academicos, or the scholar, is also highly esteemed in Dekker's eye, for learning, arms, and traffic are as triple walls to fortify the kingdom. And learning in the hands of the spiritual singers delivers such divine oracles that out of them mortals find means to climb up to eternity.¹³⁹ Through its concern with divine science, learning connects with the church in its supporting function, and through its concern with human science, it touches immediately on the temporal law, each in its way divided to maintain the *status quo*.

‡ Since each succeeding lower class has on its shoulders a heavier weight from above, and in the nature of things, less intellectual ability to appreciate properly the philosophical beauty of the divine harmony, the task of the lower classes,—agricultural laborers and servants of various sorts—, becomes mainly one of patient submission. † The maid servant prays that, as the Lord has laid upon her the condition of a servant, her mind may be subjected to the state in which she was placed, and the serving man consoles himself in the thought that in the service of the Lord, he has a promotion greater than that due to kings.¹⁴⁰ That all live by the sweat of the ploughman's brow and that he is fellow with the ox in lowly patience, is according to divine pleasure, and therefore proper and beautiful. As spheres revolve in tuneful concord, one within another, so each class in harmonious relation to every other, has its own function within the state, and lends support and mutual aid without encroaching upon another's rightful orbit. They are as members of one body,

¹³⁷ *The Dead Terme*, Grosart 4. 30.

¹³⁸ *The Double PP*, Grosart 2. 185-186.

¹³⁹ *The Dead Terme*, Grosart 4. 34-35.

¹⁴⁰ *The Fourte Birdes of Noah's Arke*, Grosart 5. 23-24.

each necessary, each having its own task, each according to its position and ability fulfilling the promise of the body as a whole. Each is honorable in its place and useful in no other. Such is the political philosophy that Dekker held in common with every conservative of his day.

But Dekker was not *properly intellectual*, and as he looked out with sensitive glance on the workings of the divinely ordered system, its discords rather than its harmonies impressed themselves upon his emotions. *What was* contended with *what had been* and *ought to be*; society as it wandered from the primordial channels grew daily worse and worse. {The old interdependence of classes was passing,—the landlords formerly dependent for prestige on the number of prosperous peasants at their command, turned adrift in the world the class they had formerly protected; nobles, formerly a buffer between tyranny and the people, became themselves pretty much the creatures of the imperial power; and the law, ideally the legal expression of the just balance, became the instrument of oppression; church, erstwhile the connection between the temporal and the universal, centered its attention upon the worldly, and as the noble had left the commoner without material provision, so the church left him without spiritual sustenance. Government, nobility, church, and law, representing the interests of the rich, ranged themselves as one man against the defenceless poor. }

Why the sovereign head of the powerful array escaped the criticism of Dekker is deducible not only from the nature of the censorship, and the dependence of the theatre on the favor of the court, but also from the shrewdness of Elizabeth's policy. Whatever act of the queen would tend to arouse the enthusiasm of the people was advertised unstintedly; whatever might bring forth adverse criticism was carefully attributed to council or to bishops and archbishops. Nor can certain other considerations be ignored. The crown felt the advisability of tempering the wind to the shorn lambs, to prevent the outcry that would be attendant on oppression too ruthless. Often, indeed, when the limit had been passed, the queen was just the one to offer redress; her Council of the Star Chamber became the poor man's only friend. The government could not lose sight of the fact that the soldiery which might be necessary at any time was recruited from the peasant class then being so thoroughly disintegrated. Prudence would counsel caution, a course somewhat short of extremes. These, I take it, are some of the reasons why Dekker may have found in Elizabeth close approximation to the ideal monarch.

In less evident admiration for James, Dekker accorded with the general temper of his age. The finesse that could accurately estimate what would kindle protest was lacking in the ungainly Scot. He had no tact in covering up his design and proclaimed at the top of his voice the divine rights that Elizabeth let others proclaim for her. As time went on and the spirit of revolt increased, the censorship more and more failed to cope with it, and disloyalty such as Elizabeth had never known, was voiced increasingly. Not because of difference in policy so much as because of difference in personal equation, James aroused an outcry of rage where Elizabeth had quietly gone her way.

And though Thomas Dekker gave James the customary flattery, his heart was not in it, as when he sang the praises of the gracious queen. Multiplication of carpet knights and monopolies were evils that Dekker steadfastly opposed, and scorn thereof speaks in passages too numerous to quote. Elizabeth, when compelled by Parliament, had renounced her monopoly rights, and wept dramatically because she had not sooner realized the injury such a privilege might work in the nation; but James, disregarding of both Parliament and people, reaped a money harvest where Elizabeth had bestowed favors. The increase of knights that at one time would have meant additional protection for the lower classes, in the growing wickedness of man—so Dekker phrased the economic change—wantonly augmented the power of oppression.

But because government as well as church was protected to a very great degree by rigid censorship, Dekker's protest against the working of the governmental system concentrated itself pretty much in an attack on law and lawyers. The authority of law, he felt sure, should protect London from the influx of social misfits. The guardians of the city were the pruning knives that should lop off unprofitable and detrimental branches. The beams of their authority should purge the air of infection, scatter the foggy vapors, and drive them out of the gates as chaff tossed by the wind.

And yet, even as he pleaded the need of more law, no one realized better than he the futility of law-making as such. In the war between money and poverty the truce that guaranteed equal work and equal favor was of no avail whatever; no sooner were the armies dispersed and the siege raised, than life was back in the same old groove:—"The rich men feast one another (as they were wont) and the poore were kept poore still in pollicy, because they should doe no more hurte".¹⁴¹ As in the days of Sir Thomas More, Englishmen who made the laws found it hard to legislate against themselves, and harder still to carry out impartially their own sentences. That acts against enclosures, monopolies, and bribery, were dead letters in practise is evident from their repeated passage in Parliament, as well as by the continual stream of protest against the evils they were supposed to abate. The eye of Dekker was caught especially by disregard of law in the city. Thieving, cheating, bawdry, too often seemed to be under the protection of the men who were sworn to root them out. Constables, church wardens, bailiffs, beadles and other officers were pillars to all these villainies. "Are they not parcell-Bawdes", he asked, "to winck at such damned abuses, considering they haue whippes in their owne handes, and may draw bloud if they please"?¹⁴² That villainies may be eradicated, let the judges lock up their ears and eyes from pity, let the inferior ministers of justice be vigilant, faithful, and severe, let not the hangman lie lazing and complaining for want of work.¹⁴³ Law too often merely threatens, or if it does strike, comes down with the back of the sword of justice.¹⁴⁴ Such, however, is not the case in Hell:

¹⁴¹ *Worke for Armourours*, Grosart 4. 16.

¹⁴² *Lanthorne and Candle-light*, Grosart 3. 266.

¹⁴³ *The Belman of London*, Grosart 3. 169.

¹⁴⁴ *The Dead Terme*, Grosart 4. 58.

"No Acts of Parliament that haue passed the Vpper-house can be broken, but here the breach is punished, and that seuerely, and that suddenly: For here they stand vpon no *demurres*; no *Audita-Queraela* can heere be gotten, no writs of *Errors* to *Reuerse Judgement*: heere is no flying to a *Court of Chancery* for releef, yet euerie one that comes heather is serued with a *Sub-Poena*. No, they deale altogether in this Court vpon the *Habeas Corpus*, vpon the *Capios*, vpon the *Ne exeat Regneum*, vpon *Rebellion*, vpon heauie *Fines* (but no *Recoveries*), upon writers of *Out-lary* to attache the body for euer & last of all vpon *Executions*, after *Judgement*, which being serud vpon a man is his euerlasting *undoing*".¹⁴⁵

But as bad as the legal chicanery that resulted in the non-enforcement of law, was the wickedness that absolutely distorted its fair intent. By "crannies, crevices, windings, wrestlings, rackings, circumgirations, and circumventions", Violence reads law as men read Hebrew (backward) and never makes one law but it breaks two. In the hands of such lawyers, "*Pens* are forkes of yron, upon which poore Clients are tossed from one to another, till they bleede to death: yea the nebs of them are like the *Beakes* of *Vultures*, who (so they may glutte their appetite with flesh) care not from whose backes they teare it".¹⁴⁶ Since the benefit of law is open only to the highest bidder, lawyers fight only on the side of money. Their deceit and hypocrisy, their lack of conscience, their attentiveness only to the claims of Mammon are themes upon which Dekker rings a thousand changes.

But however deep-seated and prevalent the wickedness of lawyers might be upon the earth, God was not mocked. To meet the claims of divine justice, Dekker took infinite satisfaction in smiting such sinners with the plague, and afterward watching them writhe in the torments of hell. To see tongue-traveling lawyers lie speechless at last with not a word to say was proof that God was still in his heaven,¹⁴⁷ to see ten thousand packs of such villains basely thrown into a warehouse of damnation,

Where Fire their food was, Adders galls their Drinke
And their Tobacco a strong Brimstone stinke,—

argued ultimate triumph of the divine principle.

Nor need we, as we come to the end of this chapter and retrospectively consider the illogical attitude of Dekker, necessarily condemn him for praising a system that according to his own testimony failed to work at so many points. The criss-cross policy that his condition and time laid upon him, seems historically to have been the truly English method of procedure. Out of admiration for the theory of the past and contempt for the manner in which it works, has sprung the compromise which underlies every English institution. Dekker's hedging between extremes seems to be typically English.

¹⁴⁵ *Lanthorne and Candle-light*, Grosart 3. 209.

¹⁴⁶ *The Dead Terme*, Grosart 4. 35.

¹⁴⁷ *Dekker His Dreame*, Grosart 3. 52.

APPENDIX

Readers may wish to refer to the three proclamations of James I, as of May 30, June 28, and July 24, 1607, which are not readily available, and consequently reproduced herewith.

ROYAL PROCLAMATION OF MAY 30, 1607

By the King.

Whereas some of the meaner sort of our people did of late assemble themselves in riotious and tumultuous maner within our Countie of Northampton, sometimes in the night, and sometimes in the day, under pretense of laying open enclosed grounds of late yeeres taken in, to their dammage, as they say; The repressing whereof we did first referre only to the due course of Justice, and the ordinary proceedings of the Commissioners of the Peace, and other our Ministers in such cases: Forasmuch as Wee haue perceived since, that lenitie hath bred in them, rather encouragement then obedience, and that they haue presumed to gather themselves in greater multitudes, as well in that Countie, as in some others adioyning, We find it now very necessary to use sharper remedies.

Wherefore, We will and command all Lieutenants, deputy Lieutenants, Sheriffs, Justices of Peace, Maiors, Bailiffes, Headboroughs, Constables, and all other our Officers and Ministers to whom it may appertaine, if the said persons shall continue so assembled, after Proclamation made, or any such new Assemblies bee gathered in those, or any other parts of our Realme, immediately to suppress them by whatsoever meanes they may, be it by force of Armes, if admonitions and other lawfull meanes doe not serue to reduce them to their duties. For Wee cannot but be justly moued to such seueritie against those, who uniuistly throw a slander upon our Gouvernement, by taking that pretence for their disobedience: Seeing it is manifest by Acte of Parliament, passed since our comming to this Crowne, that we haue been careful to preuent such Enclosures, and Depopulations, & that it hath been an ordinary charge giuen by Us to our Justices of Assisses, when they went to their Circuits, to enquire of all unlawfull Depopulations and Enclosures, and to take order to remedie the same, and to punish the Offenders therein according to the due course of Lawe. And it is well knowen to many, that We were now also in hand with some course to bee taken by aduise of our Counsell for the performance thereof: From which our good purpose and intent, this their presumptuous and undutifull proceeding, might rather giue Us cause to desist, then increase in Us any affection to relieue such disordered persons, so farre attempting against our Crowne and Dignitie, who chuse rather to trust to their owne pride and rashnes, then to the care and prouidence of their Souereigne. Willing and commanding all our said Lieutenants, Deputie Lieutenants, Shiriffes, and other our Officers and Ministers aboue mentioned, to attend diligently to the execu-

tion of this our pleasure, and all other our louing Subjects to be obedient to them in the performance thereof, as they will answere the contrarie at their perill.

Giuen at our Palace of Westminster the thirtieth day of May, in the fifth yeere of our Reigne of Great Britaine, France and Ireland.

God saue the King.

ROYAL PROCLAMATION OF JUNE 28, 1607

By the King.

It is a thing notorious that many of the meanest sort of our people in diuers parts of our kingdome, either by secret combination, wrought by some wicked instruments, or by ill example of the first beginners, haue presumed lately to assemble themselues riotously in multitudes, and being armed with sundry weapons, haue layed open in forcible maner a great quantitie of seuerall mens possessions, some newly enclosed, and others of longer continuance, making their pretence that some townes haue been depopulated, and diuers families undone by meanes of such Enclosures. In which seditious courses they haue persisted not onely after many prohibitions by our Ministers in the seuerall Counties, but after particular Proclamations published by our Royal Authoritie, & which is more, when so many meanes of lenitie and gentlenesse were offered to reclaime them, as no Prince would haue used, but such a one as was both confident in the loyall affections of his Subiects in generall, and compassionate towards the simplicitie of such Offenders: many of them stood out most obstinately, and in open fields rebelliously resisted such forces as in Our name, and by Our authoritie came to repress them, whereupon insued by necessitie in the end that some blood was drawn as well by martiall Execution, as by civil Justice.

Upon this accident it seemeth good unto Us to declare to the world, and specially to Our louing Subiects, as well that which concerneth Our affections (which upon seuerall respects are diuided betweene comfort and grieve) as that which concerneth also Our Princely intentions, which likewise are bent upon the contrary objects and courses of Grace and Justice. For first of all We finde cause of comfort in our selues in regard of the clearness of Our conscience (to whome God hath committed the care and supreme Gouvernement of Our people) from giuing cause or colour of such complaint; the matter whereof is such, as Wee take Our selues more interested therein then any our Subiects can bee; For as Wee cannot but know, that the glorie and strength of all Kings consisteth in the multitude of Subiects, so may Wee not forget that it is a speciall and peculiar preheminance of those Countreyes, ouer which God hath placed Us, that they do excell in breeding and nourishing of able and seruiceable people, both for Warre and Peace, which Wee doe iustly esteeme aboue all Treasure and Commodities, which our said dominions do otherwise so plentifully yeeld unto Us. Neither in this particular case of depopulation, can any

man make doubt but it must bee farre from our inclination to suffer any tolleration of that which may bee any occasion to decay or diminish our people, if Wee did consider nothing else, but that use and application which wee may make (as other Princes do) both of the bodies of our people to carrie armes for defence of our Crown, and of their goods and substance to supply our wants upon all iust & resonable occasions, so as we may by many reasons sufficiently iustifie our care herein towards God & the world (forasmuch as apperteineth to our Kingly Office) seeing the said Inclosures (lawfull or unlawfull) were all or the most part made before we had taken the Scepter of this Government into our Possession. Whereunto we may adde (as wholly cleansing and washing our hands from the tolleration of these grieuances) the continuall and strict charges and commandements giuen by us to our Judges and Justices, for the care and reformation of those things which may bee in any wise grieuous to our people in their seuerall Countreyes, although in this point there is some defence alledged by our subordinate Ministers, and specially by the Justices of Assise, that our people haue beene wanting to themselues in the due and ordinary meanes which they ought to take, by presentment of such as are or haue beene guilty of these oppressions. But as wee take comfort that the causes of these complaints haue not proceeded from our Gouernment, hauing contrariwise (before these seditious courses first brake forth) taken into our Princely consideration this matter of depopulating and decaying of Townes and Families (whereof we are more sensible, then any other) with resolution to sure whatsoeuer is amisse, by iust and orderly remedies: So are Wee grieved to behold what the disloyalty and obstinacy of this rebellious people hath forced us into, who being naturally inclined to spare shedding of blood, could haue wished that the humble and voluntary submission and repentance of all those Offenders, might bath haue preuented the losse of the life of any one of them, and the example of Justice upon some might haue preuented the losse of more. And seeing it was of such necessity, that some in regard of their intollerable obstinacy in so pernicious Treason should perish, rather then the sparkes of such a fire in our Kingdome should be left unquenched, that it may yet serue to put others in mind of their duetie, and saue them from the like ruine and destruction, for such and so Traiterous attemps hereafter: In all which considerations, for that which may concerne our own Royall intention, as wee would haue all men know and conceiue, that neither the pretence of any wrongs receiued, nor our great mislike of depopulation in generall, can in any wise stay us any longer, from a seuer and iust prosecution of such as shall take upon them to be their owne iudges and reformers, either in this or any other pretended grieuance: So on the other side, we are not minded that the offences of a few (though iustly prouoking our Royall indignation) shall alter our Gracious disposition to giue reliefe in this case, where it appertaineth, were it for none other cause, then in respect of so many others our good and louing Subiects, which might haue alledged like causes of griefe, and neuerthesse haue contained themselues in their due obedience.

And therefore Wee doe first declare and publish our Princely resolution, That if any of our Subiects shall hereafter upon pretences of the same or like grieuances, either persist in the unlawfull and rebellious Act already begun, or renewe and breake forth into the like, in any parts of our Kingdome; We will prefer the safetie, quiet, and protection of our Subiects in generall, and of the body of our State, before the compassion of any such Offenders, bee they more or lesse, and howsoever misled: and must forget our natural clemency by pursuing them with all seuerity for their so hainous Treasons, as well by our Armes as Lawes, knowing well, that We are bound (as the head of the politike body of uor Realme) to follow the course which the best Phisitians use in dangerous diseases, which is, by a sharpe remedy applyed to a small and infected part, to saue the whole from dissolution and destruction. To which ende Wee doe accordingly charge and command all our Lieutenants, Deputie Lieutenants, Sheriffes, Justices of Peace, and all other Magistrates of Justice under Us, and all other our louing Subiects to whom it shall any wayes appertain, to doe and imploy their uttermost indeauours and forces for the keeping of our Subiects in peace and obedience, for preuention of all such riotous and rebellious Assemblies, and destroying them, (if any doe remaine, or shall happen to arise) by force of Armes, and by execution (euen to present death) of such as shall make resistance.

On the other side Wee doe notifie and declare to all our louing Subiects, That We are resolued, not out of any apprehension or regard of these tumults and disorders (which Wee know well to be only dangerous to those that attempt them, and which experience may teach them, that they are in a moment to be dispersed) nor to satisfie disobedient people, be they rich or poore: But meerely out of loue of Justice, Christian compassion of other of our Subiects, who being likewise touched with this griefe, auoyded the like offences, As also out of our Princely care and prouidence to preserue our people from decay or diminution, To cause the abuses of Depopulations and unlawfull Inclosures to be further looked into, and by peacable and orderly meanes to establish such a reformation thereof, as shall bee needfull for the iust reliefe of those that haue iust cause to complaine, and therein neglect no remedy, which either the lawes of our Realme doe prescribe, or our owne Royall Authority, with the aduice of our Councell can supply.

For which purpose wee haue already assembled our Judges, and giuen them in charge straightly, to make it one of their principall cares aswell to discover the said offences, as to consider how farre they may be touched in law, and in what course, and accordingly to proceede against them with all seueritie. And yet because the execution thereof requireth some time, though no more then must of necessitie bee employed therein, if any turbulent or seditious spirits by their impatience, or through their desire to satisfie their owne wicked humors, by moouing common troubles shall seeke, to preuent the course of Justice by any such unlawfull attempts, as haue beene lately used, and abusing our gracious disposition shall take the presumption to be Re-

formers of the said inconuience by any force, because they perceiue hereby how much we mislike of it: Wee doe once againe denounce unto them the same seuer punishment, which belongeth to Rebels in the highest degree, And doe require all and euery our Magistrates, Officers and Ministers of Justice (according to their place of authoritie) and all our loyall Subiects according to their duety of assistance (laying aside all slackenes or fond pittie) to see it duely put in execution: As on the other side we doe promise, and are resolued graciously to lend our eares to humble and iust complaints, and to affoord our people Justice and fauour both in this and all occasions fit for a King to doe for his good Subiects in generall and in particular.

Giuen at our Mannour of Greenwich the xxiiij. day of Iune
in the fifth yeere of our Reigne of Great Britaine,
France and Ireland.

God saue the King.

ROYAL PROCLAMATION OF JULY 24, 1607

By the King.

In calling to our Princely remembrance, that in the late Rebellion upon pretence of Depopulation and unlawful Inclosures, the greatest number of the offenders haue not been proceeded with according to Justice and their traitorous deseruings, no nor so much as apprehended or touched for the same, although they bee in no better case or degree, then those few which haue suffered or beene called in question: There want not some reasons and circumstances which (if wee would consult onely with policie or passion) mought induce us to further seueritie, and a more generall execution of the Law upon the same offenders. For wee are not ignorant, that of all other seditions and rebellions, none doth bring such infinite waste and desolation upon a Kingdome or State, as these popular Insurrections, which though they doe seldome shake or endanger a Crowne, yet they doe bring a heape of calamities upon multitudes of innocent Subjects, and chiefly upon the Authors and Actors themselves.

And againe, Wee do obserue, that there was not so much as any necessitie of famine or dearth of corne, or any other extraordinary accident, that might stirre or prouoke them in that maner to offend; but that it may be thought to proceede of a kind of insolencie and contempt of our milde and gracious Government, which mought (in some Prince) turne the same into more heavy wrath and displeasure. But We neuerthesse hauing at the very entrance of our Raigne, in the highest treasons against our owne Persen, intermingled Mercie with iustice, are much more inclined in this case, which concerneth a number of poore & simple people, to extend our naturall clemencie towards them. Whereupon we haue resolved to set wide open the gate of our Mercie unto them, and to bestowe upon them our free Grace and Pardon, without further Suite or Supplication.

And therefore we doe hereby take and receiue all the sayd Offenders, and euery of them, to our Mercie, and of our Grace and meere motion, freely pardon unto them their sayd Offences, and all paines of Death or other punishment due for the same, and promise unto them, in the word of their naturall Liege Lord and King, that they shall not be in any wise molested or impeached, in Life, Member, Lands or Goods for their sayd Offences, or any of them. So as neuerthelesse, that before Michaelmass next they doe submit themselues, and acknowledge their sayd Offences before our Lieutenant, Deputie Lieutenant, or Sheriffe in the Countie where they shall remaine, whereof Wee will command a Note of Entrie to be made and kept.

And We are further graciously pleased, that if any of them seuerally or jointly that desire for their better assurance, to haue our Pardon under our great Seale, that our Chancellor shal make the same unto them without further warrant in that behalfe. Not intending neutherlesse to preiudice any our Subjects priuate Suite or Action, but so much as in Us is, absolutely to acquire & discharge them against Us, our Heires & Successors.

Giuen at our Castle of Windsor the 24. day of Iuly, in the fifth yeere of our Reine of Great Britaine, France and Ireland.

God saue the King.

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A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF FIFTEENTH CENTURY LITERATURE

With Special Reference to the History of
English Culture

by

LENA LUCILE TUCKER
AND
ALLEN ROGERS BENHAM



UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON PRESS
SEATTLE, WASHINGTON
1928

IN MEMORIAM

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Professor of English Language and Literature
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PREFACE

Though Professor John E. Wells has announced a fifteenth-century supplement to his invaluable work *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English*, it has seemed worth while to publish the present volume. The reasons for this decision are that this book was started before Mr. Wells made his announcement and that its scope is somewhat different from that of Mr. Wells'. The latter includes digests and bibliographical data for only such books as originated in the fifteenth century; the present includes as well books about the fifteenth century.

The effort here has been to bring together in usable form the material on fifteenth century England, which would be available in a university library or in any research library. No attempt has been made to list manuscript, first or rare editions. The general bibliography section and that on the bibliography of individual writers will supply such references.

Every effort has been made to include in the body of the work only material relating definitely to the fifteenth century. To this there is but one controversial exception; namely, the references to the liturgical plays, traditionally known as miracle and mystery plays. In this region, most of the manuscripts belong to the fifteenth century—hence, the inclusion of the titles here; though the separate items are seldom so definitely dated as to preclude overlapping into the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries.

In the Appendix are included some references on figures transitional to the sixteenth century.

Of the "Arthur" legends only work relating to Malory has been included. Any one wishing to go further afield in romance should consult Anna Hunet Billings' bibliography (see *post*, p. 76), or that of Henry D. Blackwell (*A Guide to the Middle English Metrical Romances: the Cycle of Antiquity, and the Romances of Adventure*; still in manuscript in Yale University Library).

Since so much of the English literature of the fifteenth century is merely translation or adaptation from French or Latin sources, the form of entry for the items has often proved a difficult problem. When the authorship is definitely established and fairly well-known, the items are entered under the name of the original author, but are grouped with the work of the translator. Where the authorship is uncertain or obscure the items are entered under the name of the translator or under the title. References from serial publications which include both text and discussion have been entered under the name of the person contributing the article.

Since the fifteenth century is still laboring under the weight of the epithet, "the darkest period in the history of English literature," and since publication of fifteenth century material is going ahead rapidly, it is hardly to be expected that all the items that should be included have been noted. We invite cooperation from all interested in the matter of making our list of such complete.

L. L. T.

A. R. B.

Seattle, January 23, 1928.

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- Acad. Academy. London: Academy Press.
- AJP American Journal of Philology. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press.
Anglia. Halle: M. Niemeyer.
Anglia Beiblatt. Halle: M. Niemeyer.
- AF Anglistische Forschungen. Heidelberg: C. Winter.
- Arch. Archaeologia. London: Society of Antiquaries.
- Arch. C Archaeologia Cantiana. London: Printed for the Kent Archaeological Society.
- ASNS Archiv für das Studium der Neuren Sprachen und Literaturen.
Braunschweig und Berlin: G. Westermann.
- AtM Atlantic Monthly. Boston: Atlantic Monthly Press.
- Athen. Athenaeum. London: Athenaeum Press.
- BB Bonner Beiträge. Bonn: P. Hanstein.
Camden Society Publications. London: Printed for the Camden Society.
- CR Contemporary Review. London: A Strahan.
Drama. London: The Athenian Society.
- EETS Early English Text Society. London: Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co.
for the Society.
- ES Englische Studien. Leipzig: O. R. Reisland.
- EHR English Historical Review. London: Longmans, Green and Co.
- EBEP Erlanger Beiträge zur Englischen Philologie. Erlangen: F. Junge.
- HSCL Harvard Studies in Comparative Literature. Boston: The University.
- HSP Harvard Studies in Philology. Boston: Ginn and Co.
- IQ International Quarterly. New York: Fox, Duffield and Co.
- JsbGP Jahresbericht über die Erscheinungen auf dem Gebiete der germanischen Philologie. Berlin: Walther de Gruyter.
- JEGP Journal of English and Germanic Philology. Urbana: University of Illinois.
The Library: A Quarterly Review of Bibliography. London: H. Milford.
- LF Literarhistorische Forschungen (Schick und Waldberg) Berlin: E. Felber.
- LGRP Literaturblatt für germanische und romanische Philologie. Leipzig: O. R. Reisland.
- MLN Modern Language Notes. Baltimore: John Hopkins Press.
- MLR Modern Language Review. Cambridge, Eng.: University Press.
- MP Modern Philology. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- MBREP Münchener Beiträge zur romanischen und englischen Philologie. Erlangen: A. Deichert.
- NQ Notes and Queries. London: Bell.
- Pal Palaestra. Leipzig: Mayer und Müller.
Percy Society. London: Printed for the Society.

- PQ Philological Quarterly. Iowa City: University of Iowa.
- PMLA Publications of the Modern Language Association of America.
Menasha, Wis.: The Association.
- QF Quellen und Forschungen zur Sprach und Cultur-Geschichte. Strass-
burg: K. J. Trübner.
- RES Review of English Studies: A Quarterly Journal of English Litera-
ture and English Language. London: Sidgwick and Jackson.
- RevPF Revue de Philologie Francais et de Litterature. Paris: Champion.
- RPF Revue de Philologie Francaise et Provencale. Paris: E Bouillon.
Rolls Series. London: Published by the authority of the Lords
Commissioners of H.M. treasury under the direction of the
Master of the Rolls.
- RR Romanic Review. New York: Columbia University Press.
Roxburghe Club Publications. London: J. B. Nichols and Sons.
Selden Society Publications. London: The Society.
- SHR Scottish Historical Review. Glasgow: J. Maclehose and Sons.
- STS Scottish Text Society. Edinburgh: Blackwood and Sons for the
Society.
Surtees Society. Durham, Eng.: Published for the Society by An-
drews and Son.
- TAPA Transactions of the American Philological Association. Middletown,
Conn.: The Association.
- TRHS Transactions of the Royal Historical Society. London: Offices of
the Society.
- MSLL University of Minnesota Studies in Language and Literature. Minne-
apolis: The University.
- NCSP University of North Carolina Studies in Philology. Chapel Hill:
University of North Carolina Press.
- WBEP Wiener Beiträge zur Englischen Philologie. Wien und Leipzig: W.
Braumüller.
- WSLL Wisconsin Studies in Language and Literature. Madison: The Uni-
versity.
- YSE Yale Studies in English. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- ZRP Zeitschrift fur Romanische Philologie. Halle: M. Niemeyer.
- ZVL Zeitschrift fur Vergleichende Litteratur-Geschichte. Berlin: E. Felber.

OTHER ABBREVIATIONS

- Ann. indicates "Announced for publication."
- B.M. indicates "British Museum."
- comp. indicates "compiler."
- e.s. indicates "extra series."
- n.s. indicates "new series."
- o.s. indicates "original series."
- ed. indicates "editor" or "edition."

rev. indicates "reviewed" or "revised."
ser. indicates "series."
tr. indicates "translator or "translated."
c used before the date in the imprint indicates that the copyright date
was used.
DNB Dictionary of National Biography. London: Smith, Elder and Co.,
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III.

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V.

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VI.

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2. GENERAL DISCUSSION

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Young (Karl), *Observations on the Origin of the Medieval Passion-Play*. PMLA 25 (1910). 309-354. Derives dialogue from liturgy.

Zupitza (Julius), *Iak and his Step Dame*. ASNS 90 (1893). 57-82. Text, discussion of source and other versions, notes. This version is late 15th century.

DRAMA: INDIVIDUAL PLAYS AND CYCLES

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Harper (C. A.), *Comparison of the Brome and Chester Plays of Abraham and Isaac*. In *Studies in English and Comparative Literature Presented to Agnes Irwin*. Boston, 1910.

Hohlfeld (A. R.), *Two Old English Mystery Plays on the Subject of Abraham's Sacrifice*. MLN 5 (1890). 111-119. Text of Chester play and one from Brome ms.

Hugienin (Julian), An Interpolation in the Towneley Abraham Play. MLN 14 (1899). 128. Discusses an interpolation of a monologue of "Deus" and its source.

Smith (L. T.), Abraham and Isaac, a Mystery Play; from a private ms. of the 15th century. Anglia 7 (1884). 316-337. Text with discussion.

Chester Plays:

The Chester Plays. Ed. by Thomas Wright. London: Shakespeare Society, 1843-47. 2 v. in 1. (Supplement to Dodsley's Old Plays 1). Texts with notes and historical introduction.

The Chester Plays. Ed. by H. Deimling. London: Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1893. EETS e.s. 62.

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Discussion of date.

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Discussion of authorship.

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Hammond (E. P.), ed. Lament of a Prisoner Against Fortune. Anglia 32 (1909). 481-490. Text and discussion of authorship.

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Lancelot of the Laik: a Scottish Metrical Romance (About 1490-1500 A. D.) re-edited from a ms. in Cambridge University Library by W. W. Skeat. London: Trübner, 1865. (2nd ed. 1870) EETS o.s. 6. Text with historical introduction discussing sources, notes, glossary.

Skeat (W. W.), The Author of "Lancelot of the Laik." SHR 8 (1910). 1-4.

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Gerould (G. H.), *The Lay-Folks Mass-Book from the Ms. Gg V. 31*, Cambridge University Library. ES 33 (1904). 1-27. Gives text with partial collation with four other mss.

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Text with discussion of ms. source and extensive notes.

Quixley:

MacCracken (H. N.), ed. Quixley's Ballades Royal (1402?) (Yorkshire
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Griffin (N. E.), The Sege of Troy. PMLA 22 (1907). 157-200. Discussion of text of poem followed by text itself.

Kempe (Dorothy), A Middle-English Tale of Troy. ES 29 (1901). 1-26. Discussion of the origins of poem, its relation to others on the same subject. Relation to Lydgate.

Wager (C. H. A.), ed. *The Seege of Troye*. Ed. from Harl. ms. 525. New York: Macmillan, 1899. Rev. by G. L. Hamilton. *MLN* 15 (1900). 94-95.

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Sir Cleges:

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Pace (R. B.), *Sir Perceval and the Boyish Exploits of Finn*. *PMLA* 32 (1917). 598-604. Argument that date is earlier than 15th century, the commonly accepted date.

Sir Tryamoure:

The Romance of Syr Tryamoure. Ed. by J. O. Halliwell. London: Percy Society, 1846. Percy Society Publication 16. From ms. of reign of Henry VI. Text only.

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Brie (Friedrich), *Surdyt*. ASNS 118 (1907). 325-328. Text with brief discussion.

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Zupitza (Julius), *Zwei Umschreibungen der Zehn Gebote in Mittlenglischen Verse*. ASNS 85 (1890). 44-48. Two versions, one 15th century, one early 16th century; notes for each.

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Holthausen (Ferd.), *Zu Mittelenglischen Romanzen*. *Anglia* 43 (1919). 313-318. Text notes and corrections for Theophilus legends. Text ed. by Heuser. *ES* 32 (1903). 1-23. This version from 15th century ms. but story much earlier.

The Thre Prestis of Peblis, how Thai Told Thar Talis. Ed. from the Asloan and Charteris texts by T. D. Robb. Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1920. STS n.s. 8. Introduction discusses date, author, background. Text with facsimiles.

Torrent of Portyngale, ed. by E. Adam. London: Trübner, 1887. EETS e.s. 51. Romance of usual type. Only ms. known is 15th century through origin of story comes earlier.

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Jordan (Richard), *Das "Trentalle Gregorii" in der Handschrift Harley 3810*. *ES* 40 (1909). 351-371. Text extracts with discussion of relationship of this ms. (15th century version) to other earlier versions.

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MacCracken (H. N.), *The Earl of Warwick's Virelai*. *PMLA* 22 (1907). 597-607. Text, historical introduction and notes.

VII.

APPENDIX

SOME REFERENCES ON THE BEGINNING OF THE NEW CENTURY

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- Baildon (H. B.), *On the Rimes in the Authentic poems of William Dunbar*.
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- Barclay (Alexander), tr. *Certain Egloges, gathered out of a Booke named
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- Barclay (Alexander), *The Cytezen and Uplondyshman, an Eclogue . . .*
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W. Fairholt. London: Percy Society, 1847. Percy Society Publications 22.
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tions 38. Text only.
- Berdan (J. M.), *The Dating of Skelton's Satires*. PMLA 29 (1914). 499-516.
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Skelton, Barclay, etc. Sources, significance. Valuable discussion. Biblio-
graphical notes.
- Berdan (J. M.), *The Poetry of Skelton: a Renaissance Survival of Medieval
Latin Influence*. RR 6 (1915). 364-377.
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30 (1915). 140-144. Relates allusions of poem to the political history
of time.

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- Brandl (Alois), Berichtigun gzu "A Treatice of London." ASNS 102 (1899). 471. Zupitza ascribes poem to Dunbar.
- Brie (Friedrich), Skelton-studien. ES 37 (1907). 1-86. Life, complete discussion and chronology of his works.
- Brie (Friedrich), Zwei Verlorene Dichtungen von John Skelton. ASNS 138 (1919). 226-228. Discussion only.
- Bruce (John), ed. Inedited Documents Relating to the Imprisonment and Condemnation of Sir Thomas More. Arch. 27 (1837/38). 361-374.
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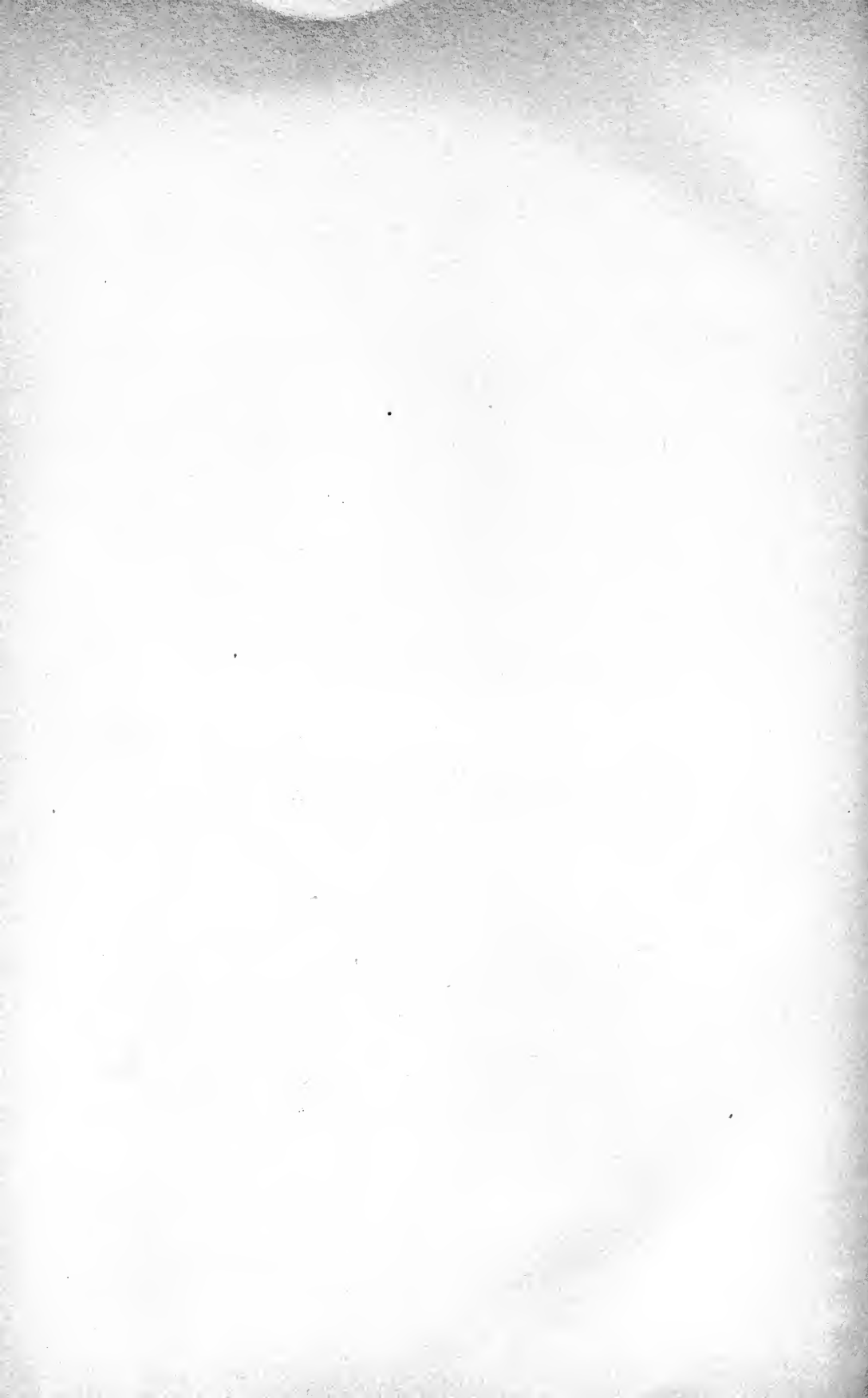
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